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HISTORY

OF

HINDU CIVILISATION,

As illustrated in the Vedas and their Appendages

BY

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PREFACE.

THE OBJECT which I have had in view in the present volume is to review, with that anxious care which scientific history demands, the revolutions through which Indo-Aryan society passed; and to investigate and analyse the principles of their origin and development; so far as the materials at my command, furnished by twenty years' hard study and laborious research, have allowed.

The following pages do not contain a single statement which is not fortified by irrefragable proofs; and, in no case, have I failed to base the statements upon the original texts bearing on the complicated subjects treated of in this little volume. Nor must I omit to mention here that the reader would be sorely disappointed, should he search for those texts in the modern versions particularly of the *Ṛig*-veda, which has been my principal source of information. I have certainly no faith in those versions; they are nothing but a travesty.

This work has been published under great difficulties. During its progress I fell seriously ill; and when I had only partially recovered I had to carry it through the press. For such slight defects, therefore, as may be met with in this history, I crave the indulgence of the reader.

My warmest thanks are due to my esteemed friend Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, C.S.I., of Uttarpara, for kindly placing at my disposal various books and manuscripts, a reference to which was necessary in preparing these pages for publication.

R. G.

CALCUTTA, *February*, 1889.

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HISTORY
OF
HINDU CIVILISATION.

CHAPTER I.

The Mantra Period.

Sir William Jones said that the student of Indo-Aryan literature and religion found himself in the presence of infinity. As Homer was the sole repository of intellectual culture in Greece, so the Vedas are here in India. The original texts of the four Vedas, and the immense body of literary records which had grouped themselves about them by gradual accretion, form a bulk so incredibly vast and of such enormous importance that not the whole body of sacred literature of any one ancient nation can be compared with that of the Indo-Aryans. Whatever was handed down, as a sacred trust, from father to son, soon received a kind of hallowed character; and also derived its importance from the circumstance to which its origin was due. Our Aryan fathers handed to us the scriptural Vedas, which have been canonized as time wore on; and which, notwithstanding many puerilities and repulsive legends, arrest our thoughts and inspire us with keen interest. They looked upon their venerated scriptures as the foundation of their power and prestige. Our heart grows warm when we find the Vedas to be strewn with original and at the same time sober and profound ideas, pure and sublime conceptions,

and lofty sentiments which were by no means unworthy of our most distant ancestors. In them, we read at any rate the reflex of the laws and thoughts of a Divine Being; and they seem to contain the thread which links the present with the past. To the Vedas must be attached an undying interest and an ever increasing value not only for their greatest antiquity, but also for the immense flood of light which they throw on the primitive state of Indo-Aryan society, Indo-Aryan speech, and general mythology. We do not yet find in them any traces of a growing religion or a growing language; nevertheless we gain from them a real insight into the feelings, the aspirations, the thoughts, the fears, the hopes, the doubts, and the faith of our ancestors. And in process of time the Vaidik religion, whatever it was, has become, through the corruptions and prejudices, of a most revolting type, of successive ages, a heterogeneous medley of theology, philosophy, and science.

The Vedas are the gigantic labours of the Aryan mind. They have already attracted the attention of some of the best scholars of Europe and America. They are guide-books in all researches into the civilisation of the Indo-Aryans, upon which history cannot throw the least light; though it must be admitted that the information to be gleaned from them is very scanty. Indeed, India never produced a Xenophon or a Thucydides; but nevertheless history can be built up from the materials which lie buried in those ancient documents, by simply distinguishing facts from the shoals of mystical legends and mythological drapery which are found to envelop them. The age in which the Vedas and their appendages were composed, has exercised the blandest influence upon all

succeeding periods of Indian history ; every later branch of literature is closely connected with the Vaidik traditions; the religious and moral ideas have been derived from them ; the later mythology has also developed out of them ; and the Indo-Aryan life, in all its aspects, has been moulded by old traditionary precepts.

Beyond doubt, India with her ancient and illustrious name hoary with hallowed traditions, claims a very high antiquity as well as a distinguished rank among the civilised countries of the ancient world. But unfortunately, there is nothing historical in Sa*m*sk*ri*t literature which records the heroic exploits of the Indo-Aryans ;* and the word *history* itself is unknown in their language. Indeed, the Indo-Aryans never possessed any true 'historical sense.' However, to get an insight into the state of the civilisation of the Vaidik age, it is necessary that we should refer to the pages of the Vedas† themselves. But still we cannot expect from them a complete history of civilisation, which is to give in full detail a picture of those times, as the materials with which we are to construct such a history, are very scanty. By civilisation we understand the advance of a people by means of the cultivation of its individuals, in all the excellences, physical, moral, and intellectual, of which man is capable. It is true that civilisation is above organisation : it is a contest between liberty and despotism, between individuality and organisation. Civilisation may involve the development

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* Burnouf's History of Indian Buddhism, p. iii.

† The word Veda is derived from the Sa*m*sk*ri*t root *vid*, to know, and the same root appearing in the Greek εἴδεω and εἴδω, Latin *vido* and *video*, and English *wit* ; and may be translated into *knowing* or *knowledge*.—Wilson's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 15.

of a capacity for organisation along with that of other capacities; but civilisation is an end while organisation is but a means. A nation which relies upon the organisation of its masses, and neglects the civilisation of its units, is devoid of any element of stability. It is a law of nature that the exterior form should be regulated by the interior growth. If organisation is from without, there is no possibility of real civilisation. And this was the actual state of things in those olden times as far as the Indo-Aryans were concerned. But the degree of civilisation attained by them in any instance is to be estimated by a moral rather than by an intellectual standard. The Vedas are the ancient *S*ástra of the Indo-Aryans, or, as now they are called, the Hindús.* The Vedas are far unlike the

* It is interesting to inquire into the origin of the term *Hindú.* It occurs with the whole treasure of Sa*m*sk*r*it words in the *S*abda-kalpa-druma, and therefore it may seem to many that it is of Sa*m*sk*r*it origin. But the authority which has been cited in it from the Merutantra, xxiii, to prove that it is such, shows, on the contrary, that it is a modern word. In fact, the Tantras are wanting in the halo of antiquity. The oldest among them, says Dr. Rajendralála Mitra, was not composed before the 3rd century of Christ, and the majority of them probably between the 6th and the 12th century. The term *Hindú* does not appear in any of the ancient Sa*m*sk*r*it authors. Indeed, this word was never employed in the Sa*m*sk*r*it language. But nevertheless it is not of very modern origin. There is, however, a word equivalent to the national name in Zand. And it also re-appears as *Hoddu* for הֹדּוּ in a portion of the Hebrew scriptures called Esther (i. 1; viii. 9.) The term *Hoddu* corresponds to the Syriac *Hendu* and Arabic *Hind.* Herodotus (iv. 44; v. 3) has noticed the Hindús under the general appellation of Ἰνδοί. But this word first occurs in Æschylus. The word *Hindú* was derived from *Sindhu*; and the ancient Persians must have at first used that term, as it is established and it cannot be gainsaid,

Qur'án as "an endless incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept, and declaration, which seldom excites a sentiment or an idea, which sometimes crawls in the dusts and is sometimes lost in the clouds."* That our ancestors looked upon the Vedas with the greatest possible reverence is no marvel. The Vedas were, no doubt, their first national efforts in the department of literature. In them, we catch astronomical observations in their primary stage, philosophical thoughts in their first dawn, mythology in the course of formation, poetry gradually rising to unmistakeable excellence; and even the first attempts in the department of grammar and glossary. They

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that according to Zand grammar the term *Hindú* owes its origin to *Sindhu* or *Hindhu* as pronounced by them. The tribes occupying the neighbouring tracts and speaking Iranian languages, all pronounced like the Persian, the *s* as an *h* (Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 20, 71: *Indus incolis Sindus appellatus.*) Thus *Sindhu* became *Hindhu (Hidhu)*; and as *h's* were dropped, *Hindhu* became *Indu*. Probably *Sindhu* originally signified the *divider*, *keeper*, and *defender*, from *sidh* to keep off. *See Benfey's Indien, pp. 1-2 in the Encyclopedia of Ersch and Grüber.* The name of the river *Sindhu* first occurs in a fragment of Hecataeus of Miletus, who preceded Herodotus. It appeared as the Greek Ἰνδος and re-appeared in the later Latin as *Sindus*. In the Vendídád (i. 73) we have the expression *Hapta-Hendu* which is nothing more than a transformation of the Saṁskṛit *Sapta-Sindhavah*, the land of the seven rivers, which was a designation of Vaidik India. In the Chinese of the second century B.C. India is called *Shin-tu*. *See Journal Asiatique, Nov.* 1839, *p.* 384. It was also very well known to the Romans in the days of Augustus (Virgil's Æneid, ix. 30). In the Cuneiform Inscriptions *Hidus* is used for *Sapta-Sindhavah*, and it should be so understood.—See Spiegel's Avesta, i. p. 66, note 3.

* Gibbon's Roman Empire i. p. 269.

reflect the growth and development of the national life of the Aryan world; and more especially they throw an immense light on the ethnical relationship and geographical position, and social condition of the Indo-Aryans at that remote period. It is our belief that no service more important could be rendered to the history of our race, than to diffuse the knowledge and encourage the investigation of the Vaidik writings.

The Vedas which stand at the head of the whole body of Indian literature, are altogether a peculiar class of writings. They are each, upon the whole, composed of the same identical matter; they also harmonize with one another in external form and language, and even in the nature of their contents. But when we take into consideration such other matters as are their peculiar characteristics, internal arrangement, the date, and the object of collection, and their use at the worship of the various gods, or at some of the ceremonials having close relation with various grand events in the domestic or public life of the Indo-Aryans, they appear respectively to be of an altogether dissimilar character.

The word Veda is significantly employed to designate those ancient Sa*m*sk*ri*t works, in which is laid the foundation of Brahmanic belief; and these works were originally three in number, *i. e.* the *Ri*g-veda, the Sáma-veda, and the Yajur-veda. Frequent mention is made in ancient Sa*m*sk*ri*t literature of the Indian scriptures under name of *trai-vidyá*, or the triple science.* The prayers in metre are called *rik*, and those in prose are denominated yajus, while those intended to be chanted are

* *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, iv. 6, 7, 1; Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, v. 32.

named sáman.* The Veda is and remains three-fold. The triple Veda is comprehended under the name of Mantra ; and the complete collection of hymns, prayers, and thanksgivings, belonging to a Veda, is called its Sa*m*hitá. But at a more subsequent period a fourth Veda was added to them ; though it was never held as sacred as its predecessors were. However, they are now commonly four in number, viz. the *Ri*g-veda—Veda of hymns, the Sáma-veda—Veda of chants, the Yajur-veda—Veda of sacrificial formulas, and the Atharva-veda—Veda of incantations.† This computation is made either with reference to the collections of works themselves or to the nature of their contents ; and of these two modes of reckoning, the last, in an eminent sense, is very ancient.‡ Manu, in his Institutes, often speaks of the three first Vedas calling them *trayam brahma sanátanam* ;§ and he mentions only once (xi. 33) "the revelations of the Atharvángirasas" alluding to, but not designating by name, the Atharva-veda. Amara Si*m*ha, in his Kosha, also notices only three Vedas ;‖ but refuses the Atharvan a place among them. The Atharva-veda is not mentioned in the Chhándogya-upanishad (iv. 17, 1) ; and the Kaushítaki-bráhma*n*a is also ignorant of it.¶ But in the Atharva-veda, itself it is reckoned among the Vedas under the designa-

* Atharva-veda, vii. 54, 2 ; *Ri*g-veda, x. 90, 9 ; Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, i. 2, 3, 3 ; *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, iv. 6, 7, 1.

† Atharva-veda, x. 7, 20 ; Chhandogya-upanishad, vii. 1, 2 ; B*ri*hadára*n*yaka-upanishad, ii. 4, 10.

‡ Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, v. 32, 1 ; Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a, iii. 10, 11, 5 ; *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, v. 5, 5, 10.

§ Manu i. 23.

‖ स्त्रियां ऋक् साम यजुषी इति वेदास्त्रयस्त्रयी ।

¶ Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 457.

tion of the Atharvans and Angirases (x. 7, 20); and it is similarly alluded to in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a (xiii. 4, 3, 7). And in the ninth verse of the Purusha-súkta it is mentioned and designated under the title of Chhandas. "The true reason why the three first Vedas are often mentioned without any notice of the fourth, must be sought, not in their different origin and antiquity, but in the difference of their use and purport."*

The *Ri*g-veda is extant only in the recension of the *S*ákalas; and we know the Váshkala text by notices of its extent.† But the difference between the two was not very considerable; the Váshkalas had only eight hymns more. Although the greater portion of the hymns of the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá was composed on the banks of the Indus; their final redaction certainly took place when the Aryan tribes had moved from the Panjáb to the eastern plains, and the Brahmanical element had become predominant; and the Kosala-Videhas and the Kuru-Panchálas had the chief merit of having effected it.‡ The Kurus occupied the districts between the Jamuná and the Ganges; and the Panchálas bordered on them towards the south-east. The Kurus are not directly referred to in the *Ri*k; the Panchálas were called Krivi in olden times.§ The *Ri*k is to the student of history the Veda *par excellence.* The *Ri*g-veda is no less a repository of the hymns which were composed after our early

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* Colebrooke's Essays. i. p. 13.

† Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 220.

‡ Weber's History of Indian Literature, pp. 10 ff.

§ *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, xiii. 5, 4, 7; *Ri*g-veda, viii. 20, 24; cf. viii. 22, 12; Ludwig. *Ri*g-veda, iii. p. 205; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 103.

ancestors had reached the land of their adoption, and with which they addressed the gods in whom they believed, and extolled other matters with a spontaneous freshness and simplicity, than it is a store-house of those hymns also which they had brought with them as the most precious heir-looms from their ancient home in the West.* The hymns which they faithfully brought with them were preserved in the several families as single and unconnected compositions for several centuries solely by tradition, and thus they must have undergone an amount of wear and tear; and Prof. Aufrecht very justly remarks that possibly only a small portion of such hymns may have been preserved to us in the *Ri*k.† In no respect the spirit of the *Ri*g-veda is akin to that of the other Vaidik collections, or to that of the Bráhma*n*as. If the *Ri*g-veda is at all allied to the Bráhma*n*as then there can possibly be no sharp distinction between them; apparently the differences between their initial epochs are very immense. However, the theology of the Atharva-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Bráhma*n*as is at bottom homogeneous to that of the hymns.‡ The *Ri*g-veda consists, with few exceptions, of detached prayers dedicated to divinities now no longer worshipped, some of whom are entirely unknown. And in point of time and even in point of literary development it is the oldest of books and the earliest depository of Aryan faith. The hymns, indeed, do not show what the primitive creed of the Indo-

* Langlois, Preface to his French translation of the *Ri*g-veda, i. pp. x. xi. See also Journal of the American Oriental Society, iv. p. 249.

† Weber's Indische Studien, iv. p. 8.

‡ Barth's Religions of India, p. 41.

Aryans was ; but, on the other hand, they throw a strong light on the original articles of belief of humanity itself. The Yajus, the Sáman, and the Atharvan presuppose the *Rik*; and the anteriority of the *Rik* to the Bráhma*n*as is proved not only by the frequent allusions which are made to the former by the latter, but also by the words and phrases employed in the hymns themselves. The language and style of the *Rik* is artificial, and its poetry is utterly deficient in natural sublimity; there is, however, one redeeming feature in it namely that most of the hymns contain moral ideas and spiritual hopes and aspirations. The hymns acknowledge no vicious divinities, and no base and mischievous practices. Undoubtedly, they bear the impress of unmistakeable elevation of sentiment, and also give evidence of an exalted and comprehensive morality. In one passage acts of kindness towards all who are in suffering or in want are extolled.* Sorcery and witchcraft, seduction and adultery are condemned as impious acts.† Though there is little that is attractive and beautiful in the *Rik*, and though some of its hymns are utterly insipid and have no life or meaning at all; yet the volume itself gives life to antiquity, and gives us a real and living idea of our early ancestors. As a complete panorama of ancient religion it reveals to us the very beginnings of human life and thought. Fortunately, there is no system in the *Rik*.

The *Rik*-sa*m*hitá is a lyrical collection; and those lyrics are of the simplest form. We hardly find in it high flights of poetical fancy; and there is little trace of abs-

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* *Rig*-veda, x. 117.

† *Rig*-veda, iv. 5, 5; vii. 104, 8 *seq.*

traction. There is no doubt that it was composed in the infancy of the human race. As a real stratum of ancient thought and religion, the *Ri*k contains many things which are now quite unintelligible to us. It is the geography of the hymns that gives them real historical value. The *Ri*k, of course, contains some really historical elements; and Prof. Roth very justly calls it the historical Veda. The *Ri*k is evidently composed of heterogeneous materials. Its first seven books bear a similar character, arranged upon a like plan. These books embrace the oldest, the most genuine, and the most sacred hymns; and retain, as far as the tradition goes, an integral and not incongruous whole; and palpably remain as it was originally fixed and arranged. The eighth and ninth books present quite a different system of internal arrangement. The tenth book which is a kind of appendix to the rest, corresponds with the arrangement of two of its predecessors, and copiously supplies us with the most distinct evidences of a later origin. In various instances, the tradition is very unreliable with reference to the authorship of the hymns, and even in certain cases it is found to attribute some of them to mythical personages.

The hymns now united into a Sa*m*hitá, had existed in detached forms, and were preserved as sacred heirlooms in several families, before they were aggregated together and arranged in the order in which we now find them. The *Ri*g-veda is certainly composed of several distinct collections, which proceeded from various rival families belonging to different tribes. It is, however, not sacerdotal; but, in some sense it is preeminently of popular derivation. Doubtless it is an authentic record, and does not lay claim to a supernatural origin. Though

the Veda itself does not disguise its age by the devices of tho pastiche, it is still very difficult to determine, with precision, the age of the different portions included in it. It is also very hazardous to say that the *Rig*-veda and the other Vaidik collections and the Bráhma*n*as are all of simultanious growth. The hymns are arranged in the order of the deities addressed, and in accordance with the families of various *ri*shis who are credited with their authorship. And this classification is no doubt based upon a scientific principle. The invocations addressed to the same deities, the hymns having regard to similar subjects, and the prayers intended for like occasions were brought under a rigid classification, without which the fixation of a text is not possible. We, however, can easily divide the hymns into four parts corresponding to the four stages of civilisation. It is very probable, that the redaction of the text may have taken place at a later date than that of the Sáman and of the Yajus. The first eight books comprise hymns which are addressed to Agni, Indra, the Vi*s*ve-devá*h*, and other divinities. The last two hymns in the third chapter of the seventh book are very remarkable for they are intended to be addressed to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house; and, as prayers, are also to be recited, with oblations, on building a house. The ninth is dedicated solely to Soma, which has the closest connexion with the Sáman; whereas the tenth mainly supplied the materials for the Atharva-veda. The same hymn which is dedicated to the same deity, is, however, sometimes addressed to different divinities. Many hymns also partake of the nature of petitions or panegyrics addressed to eminent chiefs or heroes either living or dead. But the general

form of the hymns is dialogistic. It is scarcely safe to advance an opinion of the precise belief contained in them; and it is likewise hazardous to assert that they contain no indication of hero-worship. It is, however, worthy of note that mountains, rivers, springs, trees, plants, the horse, the cow, the dog which keeps watch over dwellings, the bird which reveals the future, the sacrificial implements, the war-chariot, offensive and defensive weapons, the plough, and the furrow are the objects either of homage or depreciation.* The hymns are to be understood as combining the attributes of both prayer and praise; and in them, the goodness, the generosity, the power, the vastness, and even the personal beauty of the deities are described with no end of rhetorical flourish. And also those deities are besought to confer blessings which are for the most part of a worldly and physical character, as food, wealth, a long life, a large family, power, cattle, cows, horses, protection against enemies, complete victory over them, and sometimes their utter destruction.† But the hymns themselves afford no directions for their employment, and make no mention of the occasions on which they are to be applied, or of the ceremonies at which they are to be chanted.‡ However, the arrangement such as we find, very clearly exhibits, as far as the leading deities are concerned, a social gradation of the community, which was then already established.

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* *Ṛig*-veda, i. 162, 163; iii. 53, 14; iv. 57, 4; vi. 28; vii. 55; viii. 101, 15; x. 19, 169; x. 165.

† Wilson's *Ṛig*-veda, i. p. xxiii ff.; Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, p. 8.

‡ Wilson's *Ṛig*-veda, i. p. viii.

A large number of hymns of the *Rik*-sa*m*hitá are repeated in the other Vedas; while none of the verses which properly belong to the latter are to be met with in the former. The collection of the *rikas* in a systematic form should be attributed rather to scientific causes. And we may even suppose that science in this case may have overdone her work; and instead of subjecting the hymns to a considerable modification, may have also improved upon them, and so transmitted to us a *rifacimento.*

We find in the *Rik*-sa*m*hitá a few hymns known by the name of *Khilas,* which were added at the end of each chapter after the whole collection of the ten books had been completed. The *Khilas,* as the Vaidik apocrypha, must be looked upon as a link closely connecting the Vaidik hymns with the latter parts of the Indo-Aryan literature. We are to accept them as successful imitations of the real and genuine songs; but as such they acquired a certain degree of sanctity and dignity. They also gradually crept into the Sa*m*hitás of the other Vedas; they are even referred to in the Bráhma*n*as, although they are not counted in the Anukrama*n*ís. There is also another class of hymns called *dánastutis* or praises of certain kings for their gifts to the priests.* These occur at the end of hymns, and wear, upon the whole, a modern character; and as later additions they may be assigned to the close of the period of the hymns. The A'prí hymns throw light on the social condition of the Aryans, specially during the time when different gotras were passing into the condition of a community.

The *Rik*-sa*m*hitá is certainly a wonderful work; and

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* Colebrooke's Essays, i. p. 22.

proves that the Indo-Aryan mind had been scientifically developed long before the age of the poems of Homer or Hesiod. It must not be assumed that the hymns of this Veda are purely of a religious character. A hymn in the seventh book recounts in a singularly jocular manner the revival of the frogs at the commencement of the rains, and likens their croaking to the singing of the Brahmans in ceremonial worships.* It is certainly a curious fact that the same animal was selected by the earliest satirist of Greece as the representative of the Homeric heroes.† Again, in the tenth book we have the lamentation of a gamester over his ruinous devotion to play.‡ Numerous other instances of a similar nature might be easily adduced. In all probability those portions, which are considered as non-religious, belong to a later period.

The hymns of the *Rik* themselves are apparently of different periods spreading over several centuries; some among them being older and some more recent § When

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* *Rig*-veda, vii. 103.

† Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 494 f.

‡ *Rig*-veda, x. 34.

§ i. 12, 11 ; i. 27, 4 ; i. 60, 3 ; i. 89, 3 ; i. 96, 2 ; i. 130, 10 ; i. 143, 1 ; ii. 17, 1 ; ii. 24, 1 ; iii. 1, 20 ; vi. 17, 13 ; vi. 22, 7 ; vi. 44, 13 ; vi. 48, 11 ; vi. 50, 6. Max Müller designates the most ancient portion of the hymns by the term *Chhandas,* and those that are comparatively modern, *Mantra* (see his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 70, 525 ff). But it is to be observed that he is altogether singular in the use of these two words in the above senses, as they nowhere obtain in the ancient Sa*m*skr*i*t writers. Excepting the Bráhma*n*a portion the rest is generally called *Mantra.* In the Purusha-súkta (x. 909) even *Chhandas* is put for the Atharvan; and the Atharvan itself is also referred to under the same designation in one of its own verses (xi. 7, 24). Pá*n*ini in his grammar re-

we read of any *Ri*shi speaking of his own hymn as new, we must conclude that he was of course acquainted with many of the older hymns of the same kind. The relative antiquity of the different hymns can only be determined by their general contents, ideas, language, style, and metre.* The old hymns, however, were displaced by the new; but the former were held as sacred as the latter. The authors of the new hymns had to borrow many thoughts and words from the old ones; and such repetitions often occur in their compositions.† And the proof of the antiquity of the Vaidik hymns lies in the fact that many words used in the Veda afterwards became obsolete. Then, in fact, the refinements of grammar had no existence. The hymns are drawn up in a great variety of metres most of which are peculiar to them. The metres

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peatedly speaks of the Vedas in the general term of *Chhandas*, though indicating sometimes the Mantra portion, and sometimes even the Bráhma*n*a portion (Goldstücker's *Pánini*, p. 71). In the entire collection of ancient and modern Sa*m*sk*r*it literature, *Chhandas* is applied exclusively to the whole body of the Vedas. But *Chhandas* is nowhere employed for the most ancient portions of the Veda nor *Mantra* for those that are comparatively modern. Müller (*Chips*, i. p. 84) further considers that *Zand* and *Chhandas* are both equivalent terms; *Zand* being a corruption of the Sa*m*skrit *Chhandas*, and the same opinion is shared by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra (*Lalita-Vistara* p. 24). Although they seem to resemble in sound and letter, yet there is nothing of affinity in signification. We trace the word *Zand* in ázaiñtish (*Yasna*, lvi. 3, 3 Sp.) *Zand* is derived from the root *zan*, 'to know', Sa*m*sk*r*it *jna*, Greek γνω, Latin *Gno*, so that it conveys the meaning of 'knowledge, science.' (Haug's *Essays*, p. 122). *Zand* is used in the sense of *commentary*, *explanation*, or *gloss*; while *Chhandas* in the ancient writers means *metre*.

* Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, iii. p. 224.

† Langlois, *Ri*g-veda, i. p. xiii.

so employed show a long and successful cultivation of the rhythmical art. We meet with the technical names of the metres in the latter portions of the *Rik*. And the entire body of hymns abound also in similes or metaphors distinguished by a vein of naïve observations; which certainly show a considerable amount of shrewdness and worldly wisdom possessed by the Indo-Aryans. It is, however, beyond doubt that the aggregate assemblage of hymns which comprises the *Rik*-sa*m*hitá, could never have been composed by men of one or even two generations; and it is to be especially observed here in connexion with this point that there are hymns composed by sons as well as by their fathers and earlier ancestors;* and this fact is amply borne out by the passages of the hymns themselves which make an apparent distinction between the *Ri*shis as ancient and modern. This acknowledgment points to the existence of the historical element in the Veda. It is, of course, an acknowledgment on the part of the hymnists themselves that numerous persons had existed; and a series of events had occurred long before their own age.† The line which apparently separated the moderns from the ancients was undoubtedly traced by the immigration of the Indo-Aryans into India; which was regarded by them as the greatest event in their annals, and which marked a new epoch in their chronology. It is most probable that several centuries must have elapsed between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent *riks*; and in this intervening period the Indo-Aryan community passed through

* i. 1, 2; i. 48, 14; i. 118, 3; i. 131, 6; iv. 50, 1; vi. 21, 1; vi. 22, 2; vii. 53, 1; vii. 76, 4; ix. 110, 7; x. 14, 15.

† Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, iii. p. 219.

various stages of development, social, moral, religious, and intellectual.

The first book of the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá contains one hundred and ninety-one hymns which are, with some exceptions, ascribed to fifteen different authors such as Gotama, Ka*n*va, Kutsa, *S*una*h*s*e*pa, Kakshívan, Agastya, &c. The second containing forty-three hymns is attributed to G*ri*tsamada ; the third, sixty-two, to Vi*s*vámitra ; the fourth, fifty-eight, to Vámadeva ; the fifth, eighty-seven, to Atri ; the sixth, seventy-five, to Bharadvája ; the seventh, one hundred and four, to Va*s*ish*th*a ; the eighth, which is entitled *pragáthás*, ninety-two, (besides 11 Válkhilya-súktas) to Ka*n*va ; the ninth, one hundred and fourteen, to Angiras ; and the tenth, one hundred and ninety-one, to *Ri*shis of different families and also to mythical personages. The names of most of the authors are given here ; but by these names we are to understand their families also. The Súktas or hymns again are distinguished by different names, such as Mahá-súkta, Kshudra-súkta, Madhyam-súkta, *Ri*shi-súkta, Devatá-súkta, and Chhanda*h*-súkta ; and these terms are applied to designate simply a certain scientific arrangement of the entire mass of the *súktas* specially with reference to the deity, author, metre, and quantity of *riks* of each of them. Some sacerdotal influence was apparently at work in the arrangement of the venerable hymnal, and that the whole collection was arranged upon a principle deduced from the *Ri*shi, the deity addressed, the length and the metre of the individual hymns. The method of arrangement runs through all the parts of the *Ri*g-veda ; there are only one or two hymns which appear to be discordant. The worship to which some of the hymns

of the *Rik* are devoted, must have been purely of a sacrificial character; and such worship consisted more of detached sacrificial ceremonials than of a series of sacrifices of a complicated character. Yet, there are to be found hymns, which apparently indicate the existence, at the time of their composition, of highly complicated and artificial rituals. But it does not, therefore, follow that the *Rik* as such, was drawn up for the purpose of being chanted at those rituals. The Yajur-veda and the Sáma-veda are indispensable for liturgic purposes; but, such is not the case with the *Rik*. The *Rik* must have preceded the completion of those ritual acts. Though many of the verses of the *Rik* are used at religious rites, yet there remain a good many which have no such purposes; and those verses are purely of a poetical or mystical character. Again, the Yajur-veda and the Sáma-veda are arranged in conformity with the sacrificial acts to which they apply; but the arrangement followed in the *Rik* is altogether different from them, and not with reference to such acts. The *Rik*, therefore, cannot have borne originally a ritual stamp.

The Sáma-veda is an anthology, and purely a derivative production. This Veda was at one time the most comprehensive of the four Vedas. It is more copious than the Yajus and the Atharvan, though not equal to the *Rik*. It is, however, nothing more than a recast of the *Rik*, being composed, with some exceptions, of the very same hymns, which are in their *rik*-form, although with the *sáman*-accents. The Sáman is also remarkably deficient in literary and historical interest. Burnell* and

* A'rsheya-bráhma*n*a, p. xvi ff.

Aufrecht* urge against the superior antiquity of the readings of the Sáman, as compared with those of the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá. The Sáma-sa*m*hitá has come down to us in two recensions; one of which belongs to the school of the Rá*n*áyaníyas, and the other to that of the Kauthumas. These recensions, upon the whole, differ very little from each other. The Sáman consists of two parts:—the A'rchika or Púrvárchika, also called Chhandograntha; and the Staubhika or Uttarárchika, also called Uttarágrantha. The A'rchika which is arranged into fifty-nine decades and divided into chapters and half-chapters, is composed of five hundred and eighty-five verses, of which five hundred and thirty-nine are taken from the *Ri*k; and as adapted to the general and frequent use of the priests, exists in two forms, called Gánas, the Grámageyagána (erroneously called Veya-gána) which is divided into seventeen prapá*th*akas; and the A'ra*n*ya-gána into six prapá*th*akas. The A'ra*n*ya comprises songs adapted for recitation in forests; and the Veya-gána embraces such songs as are to be chanted in towns. The Staubhika which is distributed over nine chapters and subdivided into half-chapters, contains twelve hundred and twenty-five verses, of which eleven hundred and ninety-four are appropriated from the *Ri*k. This portion exists in the same manner in two forms, called the U'ha-gána which is divided into twenty-three prapá*th*akas; and the U'hyagána into six prapá*th*akas. The Sáman, however, contains no indication which may determine approximately the period of its origin. This Veda among other Vedas has a peculiar feature of its own in as much as it

* Hymnen des *Rig*-veda, pp. xvi., xvii.

is provided with a system of accents which consist of no less than ten different signs. The chief object of this collection must have been, as it appears from its special characteristics, that its *riks* should be chanted during the ceremonies of Soma offering and on different other ceremonial occasions. The verses contained in the Sáman are arranged according to their subjects; and the principal metres employed in the whole collection are the Gáyatrí, V*ri*hati, Trishtubh, Anushtubh, Jagati, Sarkari, Kakva, and Pa*m*kti. The songs are consecrated to Agni, Indra, Prajápati, Soma, Varu*n*a, Tvastá, Angírá, Pushá, Sarasvatí and Indrágni. And the style of the Veda, upon the whole, is very antiquated.

Prof. Benfey has shown in the preface (p. xix.) to his valuable edition of the Sáma-sa*m*hitá that there exist in it some verses, the absence of which in the *R*ik is conspicuous. The total absence of seventy-one verses as found in the recensions of the Sáman, from the recension in which we now possess the *R*ik-sa*m*hitá, must only be accounted for by the circumstance, that these verses belonged in fact to one or the other of the recensions of the *R*ik, which have now altogether perished.* The relation of the Sáman with the *R*ik is to a certain degree analogous to that between the White and the Black Yajus.† The Sáman and the Yajus are the attendants of the *R*ik.‡ The Sáman cannot be considered as an enlargement of the original Veda; but the case of the Yajus is quite different. Both contain many various readings vary-

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* Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 475.

† Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 63 ff.

‡ Kaushítaki-bráhma*n*a, vi. 11 : तत्परिचरणाविततरौ वेदौ ।

ing in greater or less degree from those of the *Rig*-veda-sa*m*hitá. The *riks* occuring in the Sáma-veda-sa*mh*itá and the Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá are, with some exceptions, borrowed in an altered form from the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá ; and those detatched *riks* again appear to exhibit very little harmony with the text of the latter. But the *riks* found in the Sáman are to be taken as older and more original on account of the greater antiqnity of their grammatical forms than those of the two Sa*m*hitás of the Yajus where they have undergone a secondary modification.* Some of the Sútras of the Sáman are little more than lists, such as we find in the Anukrama*n*ís, appended to the Vedas. Their style, upon the whole, very nearly approaches the style of the Sútra works.

The Yajur-veda is in a double form : the Black Yajus or the Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá,† and the White Yajus or the Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá. These, in the main, have the same matter ; but they seem to differ from each other only as regards their details and arrangement. In the Black Yajus the formulas for the entire sacrificial ceremonial are generally accompanied by dogmatical explanations, and ritual supplements ; while in the White Yajus the case is quite different. There they form subjects that are entirely distinct from one another. The Black Yajus is the older of the two.‡ The White embraces texts which are not found in the Black ; and when viewed in reference to the motley character of the latter the

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 9.

† The Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá existed prior to the Aitareya-bráh-ma*n*a (i. 13).

‡ Goldstücker's Literary Remains, i. p. 277 ; Wilson's Indian Caste, i. p. 74.

former looks 'white,' or orderly. The White is manifestly intended as an improvement on the Black. But these two different divisions must have displayed a good deal of antagonism towards each other.* The Black and the White Yajus originated, no doubt, with a schism of which Yájnavalkya was most probably the author.† They originated in the eastern parts of Hindustan, in the country of the Kurupanchálas, and they belong to a period when the Brahmanical organisation and the system of caste were completely consolidated.‡ Three different recensions of the Black Yajus are known to us; one that of A'pastamba, a sub-division of the Khá*nd*ikíyas; the other, the Ká*th*aka, which belongs to the school of the Charakas; and another, the A'treya, a sub-division of the Aukhíyas. The A'pastambíyas belong to southern India; and their founder was a native of Andhra, or, the districts between the Godávarí and the K*ri*sh*n*á.§ The existence of the Andhra kingdom was known to Pliny.‖ The Sa*m*hitá of the Black Yajus is in fact a medley of undigested fragments of all sorts. It comprises seven ká*nd*as or books; these again include forty-four prapá*th*akas or chapters, embracing altogether six hundred and fifty-one anuvákas or sections, which are arranged in two thousand, one hundred and ninety-eight ka*nd*ikás or portions. The recensions of the White Yajus bear the names

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* Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 296.

† Wilson's Works, v. p. 332.

‡ Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 107.

§ Cunningham's Geography, p. 527 *seq.*, Burnell's South Indian Palæography, p. 14, note 2.

‖ Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 22; Julien's Hiuen-Tsiang, iii. p. 105.

of the Ká*n*vas and the Mádhya*m*dinas.* The White Yajus in the Mádhya*m*dina recension is arranged into forty adhyáyas or lectures, divided into three hundred and three anuvákas or sections, containing one thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five ka*nd*ikás or portions. The last fifteen adhyáyas of the White Yajus are of considerably later origin ; † and the last adhyáya is regarded as an Upanishad. The rodaction of the Yajus was accomplished by the Kurupanchálas and the Kosala-Videhas when they were in their prime.‡ The Black Yajus contains the formulas for the entire sacrificial ceremonial, such as those to be found in the Sa*m*hitá of the White Yajus ; but the order in both of them is quite different. The formulas, for the most part, are for the new and fullmoon sacrifices ; for the morning and evening fire-sacrifices ; for the sacrifices to be offered every four months at the beginning of the three seasons ; for the soma-sacrifice ; for the construction of altars ; for the Sautrámaní ceremony ; for the A*s*vamedha or horse-sacrifice ; for tho Purushamedha or human-sacrifice ; for the Sarvamedha or universal sacrifice ; for the Pit*ri*medha or oblation to the Manes ; and for the *Pravargya* or purificatory sacrifice.

The Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá consists chiefly of prayers and invocations to be used at the consecration of utensils and at sacrificial ceremonials. The origin of the Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá was precisely due to circumstances like those of the Sáman ; but the paraphernalia of the equally

* On the connexion of the Mádhya*m*dinas with the Μαδιανδινοί—see Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 106.

† Ibid, p. 107.

‡ Ibid, pp. 34, ff.

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complex and highly developed ritual for which the compilation of this Veda became absolutely necessary, is more elaborate and more attractive than that of the Sáman. The Indo-Aryans gave special preference to the Yajus; for it could better satisfy their sacrificial wants than the Sáman or the *Ri*k. "The Yajur-veda," says Sáya*n*a, in his Introduction to the Taittiríy-sa*m*hitá, "is like a wall, the two other Vedas like fresco-paintings (on it).)" The history of the Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá differs palpably enough from that of the other Vedas; and such difference consists in the disagreement between its own schools, which is far more weighty than the dissensions which widened the gulf between the schools of the other Vedas. These schools were founded on a division of the Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá; the one party adhering to what is called the Black Yajus, and the other to the White Yajus. And there is strong reason to suppose that this division must have taken place after the time of Pá*n*ini.* Some commentators explain *sukla* or 'white' by *suddha*.† The White Yajus is attributed to Yájnavalkya, and the Black Yajus to Tittiri.‡

The Atharva-veda, though next to the *Ri*k, is the most comprehensive and valuable of the four collections. The Atharvan is almost entirely a *Ri*g-veda; but it has many points of contact with the Yajus.§ And there is also no room for doubt that its songs rank chronologically with the Bráhma*n*as of the *Ri*k, the Sáman, and the Yajus.

* Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 130 ff.

† Dvivedaganga explains शुक्लानि यजूंषि by शुद्धानि यद्वा ब्राह्मणेनामिश्रितमन्त्रात्मकानि ।

‡ Pá*n*ini, iv. 3, 102.

§ Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 148.

However, it is more original than the last two Vedas; and consequently more interesting. Though it repeats numerous hymns of the *Rig*-veda, it contains a good many entirely new ones. This is not exactly a Veda; although many of the hymns or incantations of which it is composed, appear to be of extreme antiquity.* It was but after a hard struggle that the Atharvan came off victorious, and at last took the rank as a fourth Veda.† The Atharvan, however, not being used at the religious ceremonies, and chiefly containing hymns to be used at lustrations, appears to be altogether different from the other Vedas. This Veda, upon the whole, belongs to the Brahmanical period ; and the songs and formulas aggregated into it also properly belonged to the Vrátínas or un-Brahmanical Aryans of the West.‡ It is more like an historical than a liturgical collection. The greater portion of the Atharvan is borrowed from the last book of the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá.§ The existing Sa*m*hitá belongs to the school of the *S*aunakas ; and to the period when Brahmanism had become dominant. There was, however, another recension of the Sa*m*hitá belonging to the Paippaláda school. But the variations that occur in the text of the *S*aunakas are so prominent that a learned writer

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* See, on the subject of this Veda, Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 38, 446 ff ; Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 10 ; and Prof. Whitney's papers in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. pp. 305 ff. ; and iv. pp. 254 ff.

† Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 11.

‡ Ibid, p. 147.

§ "By the followers of the Atharvan, the *richas*, or stanzas of the *Rig*-veda, are numerously included in their own Sa*m*hitá (or collection)."—Sáya*n*áchárya, Introduction, Müller's edition, p. 2.

calls them capricious transpositions and alterations.* This collection appears to consist of complete hymns, and not of single broken and isolated verses; and its internal arrangement is authentic. In this respect it is akin to the *Rik*, and can properly be called a complement of the first Veda, a complement containing a large mass of hymns essentially suited to its time. This Veda is called after the name of Atharvan or Athrava of the Zand-Avesta, where he is described as an itinerant preacher or preceptor.† The Atharvan is divided into twenty **kándas** or books; of which the last two are said to be supplementary. Of these books the first eighteen are arranged into thirty-four prapáthakas or chapters, which again contain ninety-four anuvákas or sections; the seventeenth book consists of only one prapáthaka without any further sub-division; the nineteenth book is not arranged into prapáthakas, but simply into seven anuvákas; and the twentieth consists of only nine anuvákas, the third of which is made up of three *paryáyas*. These anuvákas, upon the whole, embrace about six thousand verses. This Veda, perhaps, on account of the mystery which wraps up its songs, became, in no small degree, invested with a halo of sacredness, which surpassed even that of the older Vedas. From the Atharvanarahasya it appears that the other three Vedas enable a man to fulfil the *dharma*, or religious law; but the Atharvan helps him to attain *moksha*, or, eternal beatitude.

The Atharva-samhitá is rather a supplement to the *Rig*-veda than one of the four Vedas; and has very little

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* Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, p. 12.

† Wilson's Parsi Religion, p. 209; Banerjea's Essays, p. 38.

coincidence with any of them in its general character.* It marks off the period of transition from the simple faith of the early times to the gross superstitions of the subsequent period. The Atharvan is not, however, so much of priestly as of popular origin.† It was by all means collected later than the *Rik*; and despite the fact that it has the grammatical forms of the older hymns its language conclusively proves its later origin.‡ Sir William Jones and Mr. Wilkins first suspected that the Atharvan is more modern than the other three Vedas.§ Its most peculiar feature consists not so much in the fact that it contains matter quite of a dissimilar character from that of the other Vedas as in the fact that it comprises a great number of incantations. The Atharvan is not used for the sacrifice; but embraces formulas supposed to have the influence of protecting against injurious influences of the divine powers and of the lunar asterisms too, with imprecations on enemies, prayers against diseases and noxious animals, as well as for the efficacy of healing herbs, for protection in travelling, luck in play, and such like things.¶ In general, the Atharvan is poor in its hymnological and liturgical portions. The first eighteen books of the Sa*m*hitá, with which it was originally drawn up, are arranged upon one system throughout. A sixth of the bulk is not metrical; but consists of longer or shorter prose-pieces; which tally, in point of language and style, with the passages of the

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* Wilson's *Rig*-veda, i. p. viii.

† Weber's History of Indian Literature, pp. 11, 147.

‡ Roth's Dissertation on the Atharva-veda, pp. 22 ff.

§ Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. p. 9.

¶ Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, p. 12; and Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, pp. 20 f.

Bráhma*n*as. In the Atharva-veda the Báhlíkas are mentioned (v. 22, 5, 7, 14) ; while the *Ri*g-veda is quite ignorant of such people. At any rate the oldest Indians must have been acquainted with them. There is nothing of poetical conception in the Atharvan. It is rather full of sorcery and priestly vagaries and pretensions. There is also every mark of a complete development of ritual in it. It contains no hymn addressed to Vish*n*u, nor is there any hymn addressed to Indra such as we find in the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá. But there is a hymn dedicated to Varu*n*a which is remarkable in every respect. This hymn formed an oath to be taken by a witness (iv. 16—comp. x. 5, 36, 44 ; xvi. 7, 8 ; xvi. 8, 1). Though there are indications of a full-blown polytheism in the Atharvan ; yet there are some traces also to be found of a progress towards monotheism. As regards the authorship tradition does not afford any valuable information; but the hymns, with some exceptions, are ascribed to fictitious personages. The contents of the Atharvan are a medley ; but there is to be found in some books some uniformity in the subject-matter. The fourteenth book deals with marriage ; the fifteenth with the glorification of Vrátya ; the sixteenth as well as the seventeenth with omens and portents ; and the eighteenth with burial and the Manes-sacrifice.

The Vedas do not appear to be the productions of one and the same author or even of the same age.*

* It seems strange that one so well informed as Max Müller should have published the following lines : "In the most ancient Sanskrit literature, the idea even of authorship is excluded. Works are spoken of as revealed to and communicated by certain sages, but not as composed by them." *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature,*

They place before us the developments of their people's life during several centuries. "At whatever time the

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p. 523. The earlier *Ri*shis did not in any case lay claim to inspiration nor did they look upon their compositions as divinely inspired; but they knew and believed themselves simply to be the authors of the hymns of the Veda, and not to be writing by inspiration from God, as it has been alleged since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds. They appear to have distinctly described themselves as the composers of the hymns. The verbs which they employ to express this idea are *kri*, "to make" (i. 184, 5; ii. 39, 8; iii. 30, 20; iv. 6, 11; vi. 52, 2; vii. 35, 14; viii. 79, 3; x. 101, 2); *taksh*, "to fabricate" = the Greek τεκταίνομαι (i. 62, 13; i. 130, 6; ii. 19, 8; ii. 35, 2; v. 2, 11; v. 29, 15; vi. 32, 1; vii. 7, 6; viii. 6, 33; x. 39, 14; x. 80, 7); and *jan* "to beget," or "produce" (iii. 2, 1; vii. 22, 9; viii. 43, 2; viii. 77, 4; viii. 84, 4, 5; ix. 73, 2; x. 67, 1) Nevertheless the *Ri*shis were not altogether unconscious of higher influences (iii. 37, 4); and they seem to have attached a high value to their productions, which, as they believed, were acceptable to the gods (v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105, 8). There are also a great multitude of passages in the *Ri*k which ascribe a supernatural character to the earlier *Ri*shis (vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5); and even to the hymns (i. 37, 4; iii. 18, 3; vii. 34, 9; x. 176, 2). There are similar passages to be met with in Homer and Hesiod. The *Ri*shis are said to have held intercourse about sacred truths with the gods (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4). Again, on the other hand, some among them professed their ignorance of all matters either human or divine (i. 164, 5). There are many hymns in which it appears also that the consciousness of some affinity with the divine nature was uppermost in their mind; and they likewise believed to have been endowed with superior wisdom, and to have possessed the knowledge of the deities (i. 31, 1; iii. 21, 3; v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 107, 7; x. 115, 5). When the idea both of inspiration and of independent composition is at the same time traceable in the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá, it is possible that the notion of inspiration may not have occupied the minds of the earlier sages; but

work may have been performed, it constituted a decided era in the literary history of India. Thence-

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may have grown up among their successors, or, more properly that it may have been entertained by some and not by all of them. The *Ri*shis sought from their gods every kind of temporal blessings, such as long life, food, riches, strength, offspring, cattle, and rain. Indeed, the visible and the sensible always occupied their thoughts. They expected that those gods would direct their devotional acts, stimulate their poetical powers, and inspire them to compose hymns in honour of them. Hence we see the most distinct indications in some of the hymns of superhuman character ascribed to the *Ri*shis themselves, and of divine influence which suggested their compositions (Muir's Sanskrit Texts, iii. p. 252). But when the Vedas mellowed into inspired scripturehood we are not now in a position to say even approximately. The claims as to the divine and infallible character of the Vedas must have been set up gradually. But a protest seems to have been made by the Buddhists against such claims during the Sútra period (compare Yáska's Nirukta, i. 15). And it is also manifest that the reverence for the Vedas must have been on the wane before the days of Yáska and Pá*n*ini (Pá*n*ini. iv. 4, 60). The Indian authors shortly before, or subsequent to, the collection of the Vaidik writings held the opinions on the origin of the Vedas, as springing from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha, *Rig-veda*, x. 90, 9 ; as resting on Skambha, *Atharva-veda*, x. 7, 14 ; as springing from Indra, xiii. 4, 38 ; as produced from time, xix. 54, 3 ; as produced from Agni, Váyu, and Súrya, *Manu*, i. 21-23, and *Satapatha-bráhmana*, xi. 5, 8, 1 ff ; as springing from Prajápati, and the waters, *Satapatha-bráhmana* vi. 1, 1, 8 ; as springing from the leavings of the sacrifice (uchchhish*t*a), *Atharva-veda*, xi. 7, 24 ; as issued from the mouth of Brahmá at the creation, *Vishnu-purána*, i. 5, 48 ff., *Bhágavata-purána*, iii. 12, 34 and 37 ff., and *Markandeya-purána*, 102, 1 ; as created by Brahmá, or, as produced from the Gáyatrí, *Harivansa*, verses 47, and 11, 516 ; as created by Vish*n*u, or as having Sarasvatí for their mother, *Mahábhárata*, *Sántiparvan*, *verse* 12,920 ; and a passage in the Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a speaks of the Veda as being "the hair of Prajápati's beard." iii. 39, 1. Manu (i. 3, 23) says that the Vedas are self-existent ;

forth the texts became a chief object of the science and industry of the nation, as their contents had always attracted its highest reverence and admiration; and so thorough and religious was the care bestowed upon their preservation, that, notwithstanding their mass and the thousands of years which have elapsed since their collection, hardly a single various reading, so far as is yet known, has been suffered to make its way into them after their definite and final establishment. The influence which they have exerted upon the whole literary development of after ages is not easily to be rated too high."*

All that is not found of the oldest Veda in the Sáman and the Yajus, is a *Rik* piece-meal; its hymns broken into parts; verses from different hymns assembled anew; and even the composition of numerous parts aggregated into the same songs, as if they had the same author. That under such circumstances, the Yajus should have lost its interest so far as poetry is concerned, was only to be expected; it is, however, a curious fact, that the Sáman has preserved so much of that beauty which so

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and that the creator brooded over the three worlds, and thence produced three lights, fire, the air, and the sun, from which respectively were extracted the *Rik*, Yajus, and Sáman etc., etc. In like manner, many other authorities might be cited to the same effect; but they are also puerile and contradictory in themselves. The *Ri*shis designated the older hymns, and the more recent ones by various names, such as *arka*, *uktha*, *rik*, *gir*, *dhí*, *nítha*, *nivid*, *mantra*, *mati*, *súkta*, *stoma*, *vách*, *vachas*, *sáman*, *yajus*, *manman*, *manísha*, *sumati*, *dhíti*, *dhishaná*, *stutí*, *samsa*, *sushtuti*, *prasasti*, *etc.*, *etc.*; and they also often applied to them the title of *brahma* which has the sense of hymn or prayer (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3).

* Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 22.

peculiarly marks the *Rig*-veda poetry. The Atharvan, too, is composed in like manner as the Yajus, with only some variants; so that the additions in it to the mutilated extracts from the *Rik*, are more considerable than those in the Yajus.

There exists no record that carries us back to a more primitive state of the human family than the *Rig*-veda. And the few relics that have been preserved to us, are of the most intense interest. It has been very appropriately said that there is one oasis in the vast desert of ancient Asiatic history, and it is the only real Veda, the *Rig*-veda, the earliest existing literary record of the whole Aryan race.* The priority of the *Rik* to all the other Vedas is thoroughly established by the fact that its numerous hymns are repeated in them; and that its *ri*shis are referred to even in the Atharvan. But in the Atharvan the names of the *ri*shis thus produced, are principally of the more recent *ri*shis; while those in the *Rik* are of the greatest antiquity.† In the Atharvan a more developed state of the institutions together with the caste system appears than what we find in the *Rik*. In the former we see the people bound hand and foot by the fetters of a wily and tyrannical hierarchy and superstition; while in the latter we find them quite free, and imbued with a warm love of nature. Judging from the language and internal character of the Atharvan, we arrive at the conclusion that the main body of this Veda was in existence at a time when the *Rik* was compiled. In the White Yaju*h*-sa*m*hitá an enumeration is given of the different classes of men who are to be consecrated at

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* Müller's Chips from a German Workshop, i. p. 5.

† Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, p. 13.

the Purushamedha, and of the names of most of the mixed castes. We may, therefore, conclude that the Brahmanical element had then gained the supremacy, and the system of caste was completely organised.*

The 90th hymn of the tenth book of the *Rig*-veda is entitled the Purusha-súkta ; which also occurs in the 31st book of the Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá (1-16), and in the 19th book of the Atharva-veda (6, 1 ff.) It is the only hymn in the whole collection which contains a passage where the four castes are alluded to.† There, it is said that the Brahman, Kshattriya, Vai*s*ya did not issue respectively from the mouth, arms, and thighs of Purusha ; but simply the Brahman was his mouth, the Rájanya was made his arms, the Vai*s*ya was his thighs, and the *S*údra only sprang from his feet.‡ This mythical account is not found in any other hymns of the *Rig*-veda. Doubtless, the passage above alluded to contains no fixed doctrine about caste ; but simply shows that there were only four different classes of people.§ The fact that the Sáman has not extracted any verse from it, is not without mean-

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 111.

† A similar division, as the result of gradual and natural adjustment, prevailed in almost all the countries. We find traces of it in the Bible (*Genesis, iv.* 20-22). Herodotus divided the Egyptians into seven classes ; but Diodorus and Plato into five, and Strabo into three. A similar division of professions existed among the Athenians (*Plato's Timæus,* 6) and the Medes (*Herodotus, i.* 101). The Persians were also divided into four classes (*Malcolm's History of Persia, i. p.* 205). And a similar distribution was well understood by the Anglo-Saxons (*Millar's Historical View of the English Government, i. p.* 11).

‡ Compare Mahábhárata, iii. 12962.

§ Compare Yasna, xix. 46 ; and also Vendidád, xiii. 125.

ing.* The opening parts of the *Súkta* are of a pantheistic character; and the whole of it contains allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, and not to the actual immolation of a human victim. In it, the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but, by the gods themselves. Nor are there human priests mentioned; and the Purusha could not have been an ordinary man. It is full of technical and philosophical terms; and contains certain modern words such as *S*údra, Rájanya, Vai*s*ya, Sádhya, and p*ri*shadájya, or, "clarified butter mixed with sour milk"; and there is also mention made of the three seasons—spring, summer, and autumn, which do not occur in any other hymn. A reference is made to the four different kinds of Vaidik compositions such as *ri*k, sáman, chhandas, and yajus, which distinctly proves the comparatively later date of the *Súkta*. And, no doubt, here the Atharvan is referred to under the designation of *Chhandas*. From these facts it is apparent that it belongs to the close of the Vaidik age; and there is no doubt that it scarcely enunciates any uniform, orthodox, and authoritative doctrine in regard to the origin of the four castes.†

The various hymns of the *Ri*k-sa*m*hitá were composed by various *ri*shis; who at first discovered the use and application of the mantras.‡ Each hymn is said to have had its *ri*shi; and these *ri*shis comprise a variety of secular as well as religious individuals, who became famous at different times in Indian tradition. Though the

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* Weber's Indische Studien, ix. p. 3.

† Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, i. pp. 7-15; Colebrooke's Essays, i. p. 309, note; Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 570 f.

‡ Pá*n*ini, iv. 2, 7.

authors of Vaidik hymns were not of priestly families, yet they exercised priestly functions. Such a word as *rájarshi*, or 'royal *ri*shi,' occurs in them ; and it proves that there were *ri*shis or authors of Vaidik hymns who belonged not to priestly but rájanya families. The primitive traditions, though few, are yet sufficient to prove that in the Vaidik age the capacity for metrical composition, and the highest prerogative of officiating at the worship of the gods, were not regarded as exclusively confined to individuals of priestly caste. It is worthy of remark that several persons of royal blood are spoken of as authors of some of the hymns. Even females are spoken of as authors of hymns or parts of hymns, as Roma*s*á, daughter of B*ri*haspati (i. 126), Lopamudrá (i. 179, 1), and Vi*s*vavárá, of the family of Atri (v. 28). And it is also a very remarkable and curious fact that we find one Kavasha Ailúsha, himself a *S*údra,* who was once excluded from the sacrificial franchise, to have composed a few of the Súktas in the tenth book of the *Ri*g-veda.† The epithets applied by the authors of the hymns to themselves and to the sages who in earlier times had appointed, as well as to their contemporaries who followed them in conducting, the different rites at the worship of the gods, are the following: *rishi, kavi, medhávin, vipra, vipaschit, vedhas, muni*, etc. The Vedas are said to have been perpetuated by oral tradition ; until they were collected and arranged by a school or schools of learned Brahmans of which the nominal head was K*ri*sh*n*a Dvaipáyana Vyása, the Indian Pisistratus.‡ Vyása, who flourished in the early part of

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* Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, ii. 19 ; Kaushitaki-bráhma*n*a, xi.

† x. 24, 30, 31, 32, 33. ‡ Lassen's Indian Antiquities, i. p. 777, note ; and also Mahábhárat, i. 2417 and 4236.

the twelfth century B. C.,* with others, having collected and arranged the so-called revealed scriptures, taught them to some of his disciples, *viz.* the *Rik* to Paila, the Yajus to Vaiśampáyana, the Sáman to Jaimini, and the Atharvan to Sumantu ; and they in like manner taught to their disciples, who again in their turn communicated their knowledge to their pupils.†

The Vedas are written in an ancient form of Sa*m*sk*rit*; which is to the later what Chaucer's writings are to modern English. They abound in obsolete and peculiar expressions made up of the more recent grammatical forms with such irregularity as leads to the inference that the language was too unsettled and variable to be brought under subjection to a system of rigid grammatical rules.

The Vaidik dialect is to be understood as the least altered representative of that original tongue from which are descended the languages of the leading races of Asia and of Europe. The dialect of the first three Vedas is very ancient and at the same time very difficult. When it is compared with the classical Sa*m*sk*rit* it appears that both are phonetically and grammatically very far from being the same, and lexically they are as wide as possible. "The language of the Vedas is an older dialect, varying very considerably, both in its grammatical and lexical character, from the classical Sanskrit. Its grammatical peculiarities run through all

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* Archdeacon Pratt's Letter on Colebrooke's Determination of the Date of the Veda, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1862, vol. xxxi. pp. 49 *seq.* ; and Journal of the American Oriental Society, viii. pp. 83.

† Weber's Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá, p. 1 ; Colebrooke's Essays, i. p. 14 ; and Wilson's *Rig*-veda, i. p. xx.

departments: euphonic rules, word-formation and composition, declension, conjugation, syntax.........[These peculiarities] are partly such as characterize an older language, consisting in a greater originality of forms, and the like, and partly such as characterize a language which is still in the bloom and vigour of life, its freedom untrammelled by other rules than those of common usage, and which has not, like the (classical) Sanskrit, passed into oblivion as a native spoken dialect, become merely a conventional medium of communication among the learned, being forced, as it were, into a mould of regularity by long and exhausting grammatical treatment.........The dissimilarity existing between the two, in respect of the stock of words of which each is made up, is, to say the least, not less marked. Not single words alone, but whole classes of derivations and roots, with the families that are formed from them, which the Veda exhibits in frequent and familiar use, are wholly wanting, or have left but faint traces, in the classical dialect; and this to such an extent as seems to demand, if the two be actually related to one another directly as mother and daughter, a longer iuterval between them than we should be inclined to assume, from the character and degree of the grammatical, and more especially the phonetic, differences."*

The chronology of the Vaidik age is indicated in the different styles of composition which are to be met with in the Vedas as well as in the Bráhma*n*as and in the Sútras. The Vaidik age is divided by Müller into four distinct periods: namely, the Chhandas period, the Mantra

* Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. pp. 296 ff.

period, the Bráhma*n*a period, and the Sútra period. The respective styles of compositions of these four periods seem to differ very much from one another. In the Chhandas period the oldest hymns were composed; and this period in fact furnishes us with a fair picture of the primitive society of the Indo-Aryans at a time when no particular system of religion was prevalent. Even sacrifices were not then in vogue. But in the Mantra period they came to be held in great estimation; and in this period the more recent hymns were composed, and the whole was placed together and arranged into one Sa*m*hitá. Three other Sa*m*hitás were also collected and arranged systematically for a distinct theological or sacrificial purpose. At this time there were priests by profession, who had elaborated a most highly complex system of sacrifices. In the Bráhma*n*a period the principal theological and liturgical books bearing this title were composed and marshalled together; and theological speculations were much indulged in. In the Sútra period the ceremonial precepts of the earlier times were reduced to a systematic form. The works of this period are not all written in the enigmatical form of Sútras, but some are in verse and others in prose. The Vedas have their own Bráhma*n*as and Sútras; and as the Sútras presuppose the Bráhma*n*as, and the Bráhma*n*as do not refer to them, it is proved that the Bráhma*n*a period must have preceded the Sútra period. In the Bráhma*n*a and Sútra periods the Sa*m*sk*ri*t language must have undergone considerable modifications. The Sútra period extends far into the Buddhistic times; and we can place this period on the frontier of the Vaidik age. In this period occurred certainly one of the most

remarkable changes in the Indo-Aryan religion and society.

The Chhandas period may be supposed, according to Max Müller, to have lasted from 1200 to 1000 B. C.; the Mantra period from 1000 to 800 B. C.; the Bráhma*n*a period from 800 to 600 B. C.; and the Sútra period from 600 to 200 B. C. The chronological limits assigned by Max Müller to the four periods of Vaidik literature are too narrow rather than too wide. The same conviction has been expressed by Prof. Wilson and Dr. Whitney. To decide the question, with absolute certainty, as to the dates of these four periods of ancient Sa*m*sk*ri*t literature, would be impossible; for Indian literature itself is almost without known dates, owing either to the peculiar organisation of the Hindu mind, or, to the convulsions of Indian society. The present condition of Sa*m*sk*ri*t philology does not afford the scholar the requisite data for embarking with any chance of success in such chronological speculations. Uncertainty hangs over these periods; and to assign an approximate length to each of these periods is altogether hazardous. "The considerations," says Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, "bring one naturally to the last question which I wished to treat, in giving an account of the work of M. Max Müller: a question which I have alluded to more than once already, namely that of the chronology. The author could not simply limit himself to dividing the history of the ancient Sanskrit literature into the four distinct periods which we have successively traversed with him: he must also attempt to assign to each of these periods an approximate length. But there is the danger, when one remembers in what uncertainty nearly all Indian chronology is still involved, in what

darkness it is enveloped. However, resting on some general data which are fully admitted by Indianists, and of which I have spoken above, M. Max Müller establishes that the four periods correspond with the following dates : the period of the Sútras which lasts four centuries extends backwards from 200 to 600 B. C.; that of the Bráhma*n*as comprises the years between 600 and 800; that of the Mantra the period between 800 and 1000; and lastly the period of the Chhandas stretches from the year 1000 to 1200 before the Christian era. It is well understood that these dates are only approximately accurate; and notwithstanding the apparent accuracy of the figures, it is clear that one cannot in this case arrive at any precise conclusion. Moreover, Max Müller would perhaps have done better, if he had not sought to fix such precise limits to write down the result of his investigations so accurately. As there is necessarily always much vagueness in calculations of this nature, it is well that the form given to hypotheses be just as vague as our data; and as there is nothing so certain as a number once pronounced, I think it would have been better to remain partly in the dark, which in fact is quite excusable in such matters. Besides, everybody will recognise that the calculations of Max Müller are very moderate; and if he has failed in any way it is chiefly through an excess of reserve. The duration of each of these periods is very short and as the Sa*m*hitás; such as we now possess are referred to at least 1000 years before our era, one may, without the slightest hesitation, place the period of the Chhandas far beyond that. And thus we return to the calculations of Sir William Jones, and of Colebrooke, who assigned to the composition of the *Rig-*

veda a period fourteen or fifteen hundred years before Christ.

In another point of view, this uniform length of two centuries assigned to the period of the Bráhma*n*as, as well as to that of the Mantras and of the Chhandas, is equally open to criticism. If the period of the Sútras comprised four entire centuries, it seems hardly probable that the period of the Bráhma*n*as which are much longer and perhaps quite as numerous, should not have extended over a longer time, including the A'ra*n*yakas and the Upanishads. Moreover there is certainly a far smaller interval between the Bráhma*n*as and the Sútras, than there is between the Mantras and the Bráhma*n*as. Nevertheless Max Müller reckons only two centuries between each of these two periods. Analogy would seem to authorize the assumption of a far longer interval between the latter two than between the former two. There is an immense difference between the period assigned to the collection of sacred poetry, and the period in which they are commented upon; there is a smaller difference between this latter epoch and the one in which these manifold and obscure commentaries are reduced to clear and orderly rules. As for the period of the Mantras, it seems in its turn too extensive, if that of the Bráhma*n*as is not sufficiently so. Granted that two centuries had been necessary for the composition of the Bráhma*n*as, the simple collection of the Sa*m*hitás did not require so much time. Thus, without contesting the absolute length of the united periods, their relative lengths do not seem to be very acceptable, and their proportions might be settled in a totally different manner, which could be equally justified. As for the period of the Chhandas, the

first of all, and the most fertile, since it has rendered all the rest comparatively worthless, it is to be presumed that it was the longest; and this inspiration, which, during more than three thousand years, has enlivened the entire religious creed of a great people, cannot have been of so short a duration, since its effects are so durable."*

First of all the hymns were composed and then the Bráhma*n*as. It is, therefore, possible that several centuries intervened between the composition of both the hymns and the Bráhma*n*as as a not inconsiderable space of time must have been required for the literal meaning and purport of the hymns becoming somewhat obscure and doubtful, and invested with a kind of sacred authority. In the same manner the period during which the Bráhma*n*as were drawn up must have been separated from that of the Sútras by several centuries, as a sufficient space of time must have elapsed for further modification of language, and the growth of a new theology which claimed for the Bráhma*n*as the same sacredness which the Bráhma*n*as themselves did for the hymns. There are, however, no sufficient data by which we can determine with precision the period during which the hymns were composed. The hymns, are divided into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which according to some scholars may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years before the Christian era; and the Chhandas or the older hymns, which, they suppose, may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 B. C. Other scholars hold altogether a different opinion;† and it is

* Journal des Savants, January, 1861, p. 53.

† Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 572; and his edition of the *Ri*g-veda, iv. pp. iv-xiii.

shared also by Dr. Haug who writes thus : "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Bráhma*n*as to the years 1400-1200 B. C. ; for the Sa*m*hitá we require a period of *at least* 500-600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Bráhma*n*a period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Sa*m*hitá the space from 1400-2000 ; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vaidik literature between 2000-2400 B. C."* The chronological distance of the Vaidik age is to be measured not merely by the revolutions and progress of the heavenly bodies ; but by the revolutions and progress of the human mind. We do not see any reason why there should be altogether a distinct era for the Chhandas when it may be held as the same with the Mantra period which undoubtedly included the new, intermediate, and ancient hymns.† However, there are no mile-stones in Vaidik literature. The classification of ancient Sa*m*sk*rit* literature has now become a theme for discussion by every Sa*m*sk*rit* scholar. But where it is to end is not easy to surmise. It has been questioned whether the basis of that classification is scientific or ritual or theological. But whatever may be advanced against such an arrangement, we have every reason to place our faith in the distribution of Vaidik literature into distinct periods.

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* Haug's Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, i. p. 47.

† Wilson's Works, v. p. 337 ; Haug's Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, i. p. 23 ; and Goldstrücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 71.

CHAPTER II.

The Bráhmana Period.

THE division of the Vedas is two-fold: Mantra and Bráhma*n*a.* Such a division is indeed an essential one especially when it separates two different classes of writings, which are related to one another as canonized text on the one hand, and canonized explanation on the other. That part of each Veda which contains the mantras—the metrical hymns or prose forms of prayer—is called its Sa*m*hitá; and this definition applies equally to all the Sa*m*hitás, except to that of the Black Yajur-veda, in which both the Mantra and the Bráhma*n*a portions are combined. But yet it is to be believed that this Sa*m*hitá had a separate Bráhma*n*a annexed to it.† The Bráhma*n*as stand to the Mantras in the same relation as the Talmud does to the Mosaic code. The former pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter; and the proof that the Mantras are far older than any other portion of Indian literature, is to be found particularly in the character of their language. Though the Mantras and the Bráhma*n*as were held at a later period to have existed together, it admits of no question that the Bráhma*n*a portion of each Veda is posterior at least to

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* Sáya*n*a says in his commentary on the *Ri*g-veda: "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of *mantra* and *bráhmana*, is unobjectionable. Hence A'pastamba says in the Yajñaparibhášhá, 'Mantra and Bráhma*n*a have the name of Veda.'—*Ri*g-veda, Müller's edition, i. p. 4.

† Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 350; and Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 83.

some part of its Sa*m*hitá; for the former evidently refers to, and contains extracts from the latter.* And it needs scarcely be stated that so large a collection of works including both the portions must have been the gradual product of several centuries. Indeed, they represent various mutations of society, various phases of religious belief, and even different periods of language. The difficulty in distinguishing these periods is however immensely increased by the probable losses, which these writings might have sustained before they were aggregated together and preserved in the shape in which we now find them. The Mantras and the Bráhma*n*as had to pass through a large number of *S*ákhás; and consequently the dissensions, which sprang up among those schools, either in connexion with the Vaidik texts or their interpretations were very bitter. The Mantras are generally in verse, whilst the Bráh*man*as are entirely in prose. The Mantras, in fact, were for ages unwritten, and the elliptical style of their composition is the only evidence of their oral transmission.

Most of the Bráhma*n*as are collective works; and there are old and new Bráhma*n*as. But those that have now perished, are found in diverse manner quoted or referred to. The Bráhma*n*as, in fact, were the productions

* On the subject of the priority of the hymns to the Bráhma*n*as, the commentator of the Taittiríya, or Black Yajur-veda, Samhitá thus delivers himself:—"Although the Veda is formed both of Mantra and Bráhma*n*a, yet as the Bráhma*n*a consists of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first recorded" (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition). Sáya*n*a, in his commentary on the B*r*ihad-A'ra*n*yaka Upanishad, also says that "the Mantras are the sources of the Bráhma*n*as."—Bibliotheca Indica, ii. pp. 855 ff.

of the schools of the Brahmanic priesthood. They are characterized by dogmatic assertion, and by flimsy symbolism. Though they are puerile, and, in the main, tediously prolix, verbose, and artificial, yet they are found to contain much important matter both theological and ceremonial. We also find in them the oldest rituals, the oldest linguistic expositions, the oldest legendary narratives, and the oldest philosophical and mystical speculations all of which are mixed up with each other. But they seem to differ widely from one another in point of details; and this is simply owing to the fact that they belong to one or the other of the Vedas. With respect to their origin and age they occupy a kind of intermediate position between the transition from a simple Vaidik mode of thought to Brahmanical vagaries.* And this transition was indeed brought about solely by the Bráhma*n*as themselves. They were drawn up with a view to enforce various ceremonies and sacrifices ; to illustrate the use of the hymns at them ; and to enjoin the duties of the different classes of priests. The authors, however, generally failed to understand the rational meaning of the hymns ; and so suggested the most absurd explanations of the various formularies which of course had originally some reasonable drift. The number of the old Bráhma*n*as must have been very considerable as every *S*ákhá consisted of a Sa*m*hitá and a Bráhma*n*a. It must not, therefore, be supposed that the Bráhma*n*as were not all composed independently by different authors. Each Bráhma*n*a is included in its own Veda, and is ascribed to no human author. The different Bráhma*n*as in

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 12.

fact obtained their names from the schools by which they were transmitted. For the *Rig*-veda we have the Aitareya, and the Sánkháyana or Kaushítaki; for the Sáma-veda, the Praudha, the Shadvinsa, the Sámavidhi, etc; for the White Yajur-veda, the Satapatha; for the Black Yajur-veda, the Taittiríya; and for the Atharva-veda, the Gopatha. The Bráhmanas of the *Rik* generally prescribe the duties of the Hotris. The Bráhmanas of the Sáman specify the duties of the Udgátris; and the Bráhmanas of the Yajus confine themselves to the duties of the Adhvaryus.

A Bráhmana was originally a theological tract; and it was so designated because it owed its origin to *brahman* or prayer.* The entire collection of Bráhmanas gives the

* Instead of slaying the slain over again, we quote the following words of Haug:—The word *brahma* or *brahman* is the most important word of Hindu theology and philosophy. *Brahma* occurs twice in the Nighantavas, or, the γλωσσαι, as a name for *food* (Annanáma 2, 7), and for *riches* (dhananáma 2, 10). In Sáyana's commentary on the hymns of the *Rig*-veda it is sometimes explained with reference to these significations, and sometimes in other ways, *ex. gr.*, (1) food, in general, 1, 10, 4; more frequently, sacrificial food as in 4, 22, 1; (2) performance of the song of the Soma singers, 7, 35, 7; (3) magic, charm, spell, 2, 23, 1; (4) ceremonies, having a song of praise as their characteristic; (5) performance of song and sacrifice 7, 23, 1; (6) the recitation of the Hotri priests; (7) great, 6, 23, 1. These all seem to point to the principal meanings, namely, *food*, in particular *sacrificial food*, and the performance of the song at the sacrifice. The meaning *devotion* given to the word *brahma* is quite inapplicable. In the language of the Avesta, we find as far as sound is concerned, an absolutely identical word, namely *baresman*. By it the Pársis understand a regularly cut bundle of twigs tied together with grass, and used at their Fire-ceremonies exactly as the little clipped bundle of kusa grass is used by Brah-

impression of having undergone a secondary alteration; and their prevalence forms a distinct stage in the progress of the religious history of the Indo-Aryans. As the dogmatical books of the Brahmans they contain a system of belief which was of course the product of religious practice. They are very useful for an explanation of the principles of belief; because they were composed with the distinct object of illustrating and establishing the whole sacrificial ceremonial. They exhibit, upon the whole, a distinct phase in the intellectual history of the Indo-Aryans; but, in a literary point of view, they are altogether without any interest. They are in the main marked by serious reasoning, full of genuine thoughts, lofty expressions, and valuable traditions; but their general characteristics mainly consist in their archaisms, grammatical irregularities, antiquated and tautological style, and antiquarian pedantry. In them, we find a pantheistic system; and this system was adopted simply

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mans at the Soma sacrifices. This latter is called veda (A'svaláyana, *S*rauta-sútra, 1,11) which passes later as a synonym of brahma. This bunch of grass as well as the baresman has a symbolical meaning. They both represent *growing, increase, prosperity.* The original meaning of the word was *growth.* Hence came the meaning "prosperity," "success." As the success of the sacrifice entirely depended upon the holy texts, the chanting, the sacrificial forms and offerings, the word could be used for any one of these essentials. As the chanting of the hymns of praise was the most important of these, the word was most frequently employed in this sense. As sacrifice with the Vaidik Indians was the chief means to obtain all earthly and spiritual blessings, but was itself useless without the brahma *i. e.* success, the latter was at last regarded as the original cause of all beings.—Haug, Brahma und die Brahmanen, p. 5 ff; Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, i. pp. 240-65.

for the explanation of the Vaidik deities. It is not easy to define their relation accurately; and the ritualistic precepts and illustrations are distributed under two heads of *vidhi* and *artha-vidhi*. There also occur numerous tales of the battles between the Devas and the Asuras; which are to be understood as traditional reminiscences of the hostilities between the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans.* Even there the Brahman, the Kshattriya, the Vai*s*ya, and the *S*údra are repeatedly named by their proper appellations; and their peculiar offices and relative stations are also clearly discriminated. In fact, the Bráhma*n*as are the history of one of the most important periods in the social and mental development of India.

The Gopatha-bráhma*n*a of the Atharva-veda is the Veda of the Bh*ri*gu-angiras; which does not properly belong to the sacred literature of the Indo-Aryans. This Bráhma*n*a is not of very great length, and is throughout in prose. Its language is similar to that of the other Bráhma*n*as. Nothing is treated of in it in all its details; and even the manner in which every topic is discussed is by no means interesting. The primary object of this Bráhma*n*a is to show and establish the importance and also the efficacy of the four Vedas. The Purvárdha, or the first part of it, comprises five prapá*th*akas; and the other part, called the Uttarárdha, consists of six prapá*th*akas. And those prapá*th*akas are of unequal length. The customary ceremonial of worship is discussed in it in like manner as in the other Bráhma*n*as; and there is, indeed, very little difference to be seen between the Gopatha and those Bráhma*n*as. It

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* Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, i. 23; Haug's Essays, pp. 225-29.

begins with a theory of the creation of the universe as do the other Bráhma*n*as. It deals with the importance of *áchmana,* the rules regarding *dikshá,* the duties appropriate to Brahmachárins, the mystic connexion of the year with ceremonies, the creation and requirements of ceremonies, the use of the different Vedas in the performance thereof, the morning, noon, and evening rites, and other minor topics. It is also remarkable on account of the chapter of accidents. It was composed after the schism of the Charakas and the Vájasaneyins,* and after the completion of the Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá; and we must at any rate assign to it a later date than to the Bráhma*n*as of the other Vedas. It was composed probably about six centuries B. C. The number of Bráhma*n*as belonging to the Sáma-veda, is eight; and their names are: the Prau*dh*a or Mahá-bráhma*n*a (*i. e.* the Tá*nd*ya or Panchavi*ms*a), the Sha*d*vi*ms*a, the Sámavidhi, the A'rsheya, the Devatádhyáya, the Va*ms*a, the Sa*m*hitopánishsd, and the Upanishad,† which probably is the Chhándogya-upanishad, and is thus ranked among the Bráhma*n*as.‡ The A'rsheya-bráhma*n*a is an Anukrama*n*í consisting of three and a half prapá*th*akas. It is found in both the recensions of the Kauthumas and the Jaiminíyas; but the latter differs considerably from the former. This Bráhma*n*a is devoted to an enumeration of the Seers of the Sáman. The Devatádhyáya, or the chapter on gods, is composed of four kha*n*das. It embraces some miscellaneous fragments both old and new; but has no literary

* Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 451 ff; and see also Mitra's Gopatha-brâhma*n*a, pp. 11-37.

† Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 349.

‡ Müller's *Rig*-veda, i. p. xxvii.

value. This Bráhma*n*a contains philological speculations regarding the names of some of the Vaidik metres, and also shows some traces of the Buddhist influences. The Va*m*sa is full of myths and legends of great value. This Bráhma*n*a gives a genealogy of the *R*ishis of the Sáman. It is also called an Anukrama*n*í ; and it is similar in character to the A'rsheya. The Tá*nd*ya-bráhma*n*a, also called the Panchavi*m*sa, contains twenty-five books ; and treats chiefly of Soma sacrifice. It contains a minute description of the sacrifices performed on the banks of the Sarasvatî and the D*r*ishadvatí ; and of the Vrátyastomas or sacrifices by the performance of which such Aryans as were against Brahmanical polity, were admitted to the Brahman community. This Bráhma*n*a is also extremely rich in legendary contents as well as in information of a general nature ; but, upon the whole, its contents are very dry. It was contemporary with, or even anterior to the flourishing epoch of the kingdom of the Kurupanchálas.* The Sha*d*vi*m*sa-bráhma*n*a, which is a supplement to the Panchavi*m*sa, treats of expiatory sacrifices and imprecatory ceremonies. It is supposed to be of very modern date. And it not only alludes to temples but also to the images of the gods. The Sámavidhi is in three chapters ; and is of a highly artificial character, and presents no feature of interest. It appears that this Bráhma*n*a has undergone some rearrangement, and belongs to a movement which resulted in the philosophies of Kumárila and *S*ankara. The subject-matter is nothing else than the description of certain penances and ceremonies which are altogether of little value. There is, however, men-

* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 68.

tion made of ceremonies some of which are meant for the expiation of sins and crimes; and in fact there was then no distinction between them.* We are therefore warranted to conclude that it contains the germs of the criminal law of later times.† Burnell assigns to this Bráhma*n*a in its present form not a higher antiquity than the fifth century B. C.‡ A later Bráhma*n*a, probably of modern date, and which is not mentioned by Sáya*n*a, is the Adbhuta-bráhma*n*a or the Bráhma*n*a of Miracles. It treats of evil occurences of daily life, auguries and marvels, omens and portents.

The Chhándogya-bráhma*n*a of the Sáma-veda, of which the Chhándogya-upanishad constitutes a part, comprises ten prapá*th*akas; of these the first two are called the Chhándogya-mantra-bráhma*n*a, and the rest form the Chhándogya-upanishad. Of the two chapters of the Chhándogya-bráhma*n*a the first embraces eight *súktas* on the ceremony of marriage, and the ceremonies to be performed at the birth of a child. The second chapter includes eight *súktas*, which are consecrated to the Earth, Agni and Indra. It also contains mantras for offering oblations to the Manes, Súrya, and various other deities very often united with a prayer for wealth, health, and prosperity. The concluding mantra has reference to the marriage ceremony. This Bráhma*n*a contains also a mass of highly interesting legends indicating the gradual development of Brahmanic theology. The Aitareya-or A'*s*valáyana-bráhma*n*a, originated in the country of the Kurupanchálas and Va*s*a-U*s*ínaras. This Bráhma*n*a is

* Maine's Ancient Law, p. 371.

† Burnell's Sámavidhána, p. xv ff.

‡ Ibid, p. x.

one of the collections of the sayings of ancient Brahmá priests, explanatory of the sacred duties of the so-called Hot*ri* priests. Its style is throughout uniform. The greater part of the work appears to have been composed by one and the same author; some additions, however, were made afterwards. This Bráhma*n*a and the *S*ánkháyana or Kaushítaki-bráhma*n*a are closely connected with each other; but there are points of divergence in the distribution of their matter. Though they treat essentially of the same matter, their views of the same question often appear to be antagonistic. The Aitareya contains eight panchikás or pentades, divided into forty adhyáyas or lectures, which again are sub-divided into 285 kha*nd*as or portions; but the last ten adhyáyas are but a later addition to it. This work treats chiefly of Soma sacrifice. There is also a distinct reference made to four *ásramas* or stages.* The *S*ánkháyana is a perfectly arranged work, and consists of thirty adhyáyas, likewise sub-divided into a number of kha*nd*as. It embraces the complete sacrificial procedure. This Bráhma*n*a originated simultaneously with the last few books of the Sa*m*hitá of the White Yajus. It also appears that the first thirty adhyáyas of the Aitareya-bráhma*n*a are older than those of the *S*ánkháyana.†

The *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, according to the Mádhya*m*dina school, is divided into 14 ká*nd*as or books, which contain 100 adyáyas or lectures; or into 68 prapá*th*akas, with 438 bráhma*n*as, and 7624 ka*nd*ikás or portions. In the Ká*n*va recension it consists of seventeen ká*nd*as with a hundred and four adhyáyas, four hundred and forty-six

* Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, vii. 3. 13, 4.

† Goldstücker's Literary Remains, i. p. 35.

bráhma*n*as, and five thousand eight hundred and sixty-six ka*nd*ikás. This Bráhma*n*a furnishes us with the dogmatical, exegetical, mystical, and philosphical lucubrations of early Brahman theologians and philosophers. A partial examination of this book shows it to be stamped with a character quite in harmony with that of the Aitareya. And again these two works have claims to be recognised as very ancient records of the religious beliefs and rituals, and of the pristine institution of Indian society. A story in the *S*atapatha illustrates the relations between the priestly and royal families in the early history of India ; and gives us an insight into the policy which actuated the Brahmans to struggle from time to time for political influence. The geographical and ethnical allusions point to the regions along the Ganges and the Yamuná ;* and there occurs a legend about Videgha Máthava and his Purohita Gotama Ráhúga*n*a, which has preserved a distinct reminiscence of the spread of Aryan civilisation eastward.† There is also a legend of a deluge, in which Manu alone was preserved for his sanctity and superior wisdom. According to this interesting legend he was not the creator of man, but a representative of an earlier race of men.‡ The legend of a flood, according to M. Burnouf, is not in its origin Indian; but was most probably derived from a Semitic source, whether Hebrew or Assyrian.§ But Prof. Weber from

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* Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 187 *seq.*

† Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 170 *seq* ; see also Muir's Sanskrit Texts, ii. p. 402.

‡ i. 8, 1, 1. See also Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp. 425 ff ; Professor Williams' Indian Epic Poetry, p. 34 ; and Weber's Indische Studien, i. 163 f.

§ Bhágavata-purá*n*a, iii. pp. li., lii-liv.

the legend of Manu in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, which he for the first time brought to light has proved that the tradition was really current in India at a much earlier period than Burnouf thought ; and it was not imported into that country from any of the Semitic sources.* This Bráhma*n*a may have been edited by Yájnavalkya, but its principal portions, like those of the other Bráhma*n*as, must have been accumulating for some period before they were all aggregated and arranged into the sacred code of a new Chara*n*a. The Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a may be regarded as a supplement to its Sa*m*hitá ; but the former does not differ from the latter so much in character as in point of time.

There was originally only one text of each of the four Vedas; but each text passed through a large number of *S*ákhás which gradually came into existence. A *S*ákhá signifies an edition of a Veda. There was a class of *S*ákhás, though of a confessedly later date, founded on Sútras, which derived their names from historical personages. However, there was originally a difference between a *S*ákhá and a Chara*n*a or ecclesia ; but these two words were used generally as synonyms. Pá*n*ini speaks of Chara*n*as as comprising a number of followers.† If a Sákhá is used in the sense of a Chara*n*a, this can only be accounted for by the fact that in India the Sákhás did not exist as written books, but only in the tradition of the Chara*n*as, each member of a Chara*n*a representing and possessing a copy of a book. A Sákhá as a portion of Sruti, cannot properly include law books.

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* Indische Studien, i. p. 160 ff.

† Pá*n*ini, iv. 2, 46.

But the adherents of certain *S*ákhás might easily adopt a code of institutions which would go by the name of their Chara*n*as. In the Chara*n*avyúha, a work ascribed to *S*aunaka, which treats of these schools, there are enumerated five *S*ákhás of the *Ri*g-veda; and forty-two, or, in one recension, forty-four out of eighty-six are mentioned of the Yajur-veda. Twelve out of a thousand are said to have once existed of the Sáman; and of the Atharva-veda only nine.* But only a very few of these editions have come down to us.

The Atharva*n*arahasya, a modern treatise on the Atharva-veda, attributing the same number of *S*ákhás to the Sáma-veda and the Atharva-veda, speaks of twenty-one of the *Ri*g-veda, and a hundred of the Yajur-veda. But of all these *S*ákhás the *Ri*g-veda is now extant only in one; the Yajus in three, and we may say in four; the Sáman perhaps in two; and the Atharvan in one. The only recension in which the Sa*m*hitá of the *Ri*g-veda is found, is that of the *S*ákala school. The text of the Black Yajus is extant in the recensions of the two schools, that of A'pastamba, and that of the Ká*th*aka which belongs to the Charakas; and the White Yajus exists in the recensions of the Mádhya*m*dina and the Ká*n*va schools. The Sa*m*hitá of the Sáman is preserved in the two recensions: in that of the Rá*n*áyaníyas, and probably also in that of the Kauthumas. The text of the Atharvan is preserved only in the *S*aunaka school. Each *S*ákhá claimed the possession of the only true and genuine Veda. The discrepancies between all these *S*ákhás, however, consisted chiefly in numerous variations of their

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* Weber's Indische Studien, xiii. pp. 430ff.

arrangement of the sacred scriptures and in their subsequent accretions or total omissions of texts.

Although *S*ákhá and Chara*n*a were sometimes used synonymously, yet Sákhá properly applies to the traditional text followed as in the phrase *sákhám adhíte* ; and Chara*n*a an ideal succession of teachers and pupils. We should then understand by a *S*ákhá a traditional recension of any of the Vedas, handed down by different Chara*n*as, or, different schools or sects, which strictly adhered to their own traditional text and interpretation. The Brahmans themselves were fully aware of this difference between a *S*ákhá and a Chara*n*a. And it is highly probable that new Chara*n*as on sacred texts peculiar to them, were established in case of gross or slight discrepancies in the text of the hymns, as well as divergences in the Bráhma*n*as, as a *S*ákhá always consisted of a Sa*m*hitá and a Bráhma*n*a.

A Parishad means an assembly or a settlement of Brahmans associated for the study of the Vedas ;* and the Párshada might be the title of any book belonging to a Parishad. The law books lay down the number, age, and qualifications of the Brahmans who must have composed such an assembly to give decisive opinions on all subjects they might be referred to. The members of the same Chara*n*a might become fellows of different Parishads and *vice versá*. The real ancestors of the Brahmans are eight in number ; and eight gotras are again divided into forty-nine different gotras, and these constitute a still larger number of families. Gotras were confined to Brahmans as well as to Kshattriyas and Vai*s*yas ;

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* B*ri*hadára*n*yaka, vi. 2.

and they depended on a community of blood corresponding to families. Chara*n*as existed among the priestly caste only; and they depended on the community of the sacred texts, and as such they were merely ideal fellowships. All the Brahman families that keep and preserve sacred or sacrificial fire claim a descent from the seven *R*ishis.* A Brahman is bound by law to know to which of the forty-nine gotras his own family belongs; and in consecrating his own fire he must invoke the ancestors who founded the gotra to which he belongs. Such names as *gotra*, *varga*, *paksha*, and *gana* are all used in one and the same sense. And these genealogies represent something real, and have an historical value.

From the Bráhma*n*as sprung those mystical and theosophical writings, the A'ra*n*yakas and the Upanishads. By the word *A'ranyaka* Pá*n*ini understands a mere forester.† If the theosophical works called the A'ra*n*yakas were extant during his time, he would have recognised them as a portion of the sacred literature. The A'ra*n*yakas are so called, according to Sáya*n*a, because they were read in the forest, as if they were the text-books of the anchorites, whose devotions were purely spiritual.‡ Of the A'ra*n*yakas there are four extant, the B*ri*had, the Taittiríya, the Aitareya, and the Kaushítaki. These, no doubt, belong to a class of Sa*m*sk*ri*t writings, the history of which has not yet been properly investigated. Their

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* Bh*ri*gu, Angiras, Vi*s*vámitra Vasish*th*a, Ka*s*yapa, Atri, and Agasti.

† अरण्यान् मनुष्ये । iv. 2, 129.

‡ Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 129; Weber's Indische Studien, v. p. 149.

style is full of strange solecisms.* The A'ra*n*yakas contain the quintessence of the Vedas, and they treat only of the science of Brahma. The A'ra*n*yakas, as an enlargement upon the Bráhma*n*as, presuppose their existence. They are anterior to the Sútras, and likewise they are posterior to the Bráhma*n*as, to which they form a kind of appendix.

The A'ra*n*yakas discuss the obscure points of religion and philosophy, the nature of God, the creation of the world, and relation of man to God, and subjects of a like nature. The names of the authors are unknown to us, because their authorship was disclaimed on the ground that the productions would lose all their divine anthority; and also because those productions are mere compilations from other works. However, they exhibit the very dawn of thought; and the problems discussed in them are not in themselves modern; but still modes of modern thought are not altogether wanting in them. And they also abound in passages which are unequalled in any language, for grandeur, simplicity, and boldness.

The original Upanishads, or the Mysteries of Theosophy, had their place in the A'ra*n*yakas and the Bráhma*n*as. The most important of them are full of theosophy and philosophy. The Upanishads belonged to Parishads or settlements. The ideas and even expressions contained in them, are apparently common to most of them. Those ideas again did not grow up in one and the same locality; but they must have had an independent growth which was of course determined by local influences and individual opinions. The Indo-Aryans began to cultivate

* Cowell's Kaushítaki-Upanishad, p. viii.

philosophical thought from an early age. The question as to the origin of the world gave rise to such philosophical investigation. It is true, that every community of mankind has its philosophy of the universe. This may be very scanty, very indefinite, very naïve. The tenth Ma*nd*ala of the *Ri*g-veda exhibits a high degree of speculation; but the stages of the gradation of this reflection may be clearly and distinctly followed in the Vaidik texts. The Indo-Aryans mixed up with the aborigines; and their occupation was gone. They no longer prayed to their gods for creature comforts; but began to look upon life as a dream and as an illusion. Máyá made them unfit for active life. To them, this world was unreal, being merely phenomenal; and God, being the noumenon, was the only reality. Sacrates, Plato, and many others held the same opinion of the unreality of this world as distinguished from the reality of God. Max Müller has surmised that the word *Upanishad* "meant originally the act of sitting down near a teacher, of submissively listening to him," whence it came to mean "implicit faith, and at last truth or divine revelation."* It may even be supposed with some reason that these works derived their names from the mysteriousness of the doctrines contained in them; and perhaps also from the mystical and obscure manner in which they propound them. It is very probable that in the time of Pá*n*ini, the works bearing the name of Upanishad were not in existence.† With regard to the Upanishads, Schopenhauer, the founder of a

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* Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrít Literature. p. 319. On the meaning of the word *Upanishad*, see also Sacred Books of the East, ed. by F. Max Müller, i. p. lxxix *seq.*

† Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 141.

new school of philosophy, has said: "In the whole world of literature there is nothing to be compared with the Upanishads; they have been the solace of my life, they will be the solace of my death." The Upanishads are mere compilations from other works; and the names of the authors of the principal ones are unkown. They are commonly in the form of dialogue; and in the main written in prose with occasional fragments of verse, but sometimes they are all in verse. The oldest among them may date as far back as the sixth century B. C. They are the B*ri*hadáran*y*aka, the Aitareya, the Chhándogya, the Taittiríya, the I'*s*a, the *S*vetá*s*vatara, the Kena, the Pra*s*na, the Ka*th*a, the Mu*nd*aka, and the Má*nd*ukya. All these Upanishads are old and genuine. They are very properly called the classical Upanishads; and as they contain real nuggets of thoughts and precious jewels of faith and hope they will ever occupy a lasting place in the history of mankind. We can hardly determine when and under what circumstances these half prose and half metrical Upanishads were put together. But still we can at once distinguish verses which are more primitive and which are more modern, if we are to judge the peculiarities of metre, grammar, language, and thought. Again, there are passages to be found which seem utterly meaningless and irrational, but they are few in number. Certainly, the greater portion of them express the deepest thoughts on religion and philosophy. The ordinary enumeration of the Upanishads exceeds a hundred;* but most of them are apocry-

* Prof. Weber reckons about a hundred (*Indische Studien*, i. p. 247 *seq*); Sir W. Eliot 108 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, xx. p. 607 *seq*); Müller 149 (*Journal of the German Oriental*

phal. Of all the Upanishads only fifty-one were translated into Latin and published by Anquetil Duperron in 1801, under the title of "Oupnekhat" or "Theosophia Indica." His translations were mostly from a Persian version prepared by the orders of Dara Shukoh. The various systems of Hindu philosophy have their basis in the Upanishads, though quite antagonistic in their character.* They are also the germs of Buddhism. Most of

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Society, xix. p. 137 *seq*) ; and Haug 101 (*Brahma und die Brahmanen*, p. 29).

* There are six systems of philosophy. The Vedánta was founded by Bádaráya*n*a or Vyása, the Mímánsá by Jaimini, the Sáñkhya by Kapila, the Yoga by Pata*m*jali, the Nyáya by Gotama, and the Vai*s*eshika by Ka*n*áda. The Vedánta has been compared with the idealism of Plato ; the Vai*s*eshika with the Atomistic system ; the Sáñkhya has many things in common with the metaphysics of Pythagoras ; the Yoga with that of Zeno ; and the Nyáya offers many parallels to the practical philosophy of Aristotle. It is very difficult to ascertain the comparative ages of these systems. They were, no doubt, elaborated after considerable intervals of each other ; because philosophers do not represent the consciousness of the time in which they live : a considerable period must have elapsed before each system was elaborated to give a new tendency and direction to the national thought. However, it is an indisputable fact that all these systems were completed before Buddha. Of the six systems, the Vedánta is the most orthodox. It propounds the pantheistic doctrine of the Upanishads. God is the pervading spirit ; there is no material world as distinct from him. The world is without beginning, and is all *Máyá* or illusion. The sole aim of the Vedánta is the identification of God and the human soul ; it is shere ignorance which makes us believe in duality. The true knowledge of Brahma destroys this ignorance and produces a belief in non-duality. The Mímánsá is also called the Púrva-mímánsá. It is concerned with the Mantras and the Bráhma*n*as. It is, therefore, not strictly a system of philosophy, but of ritualism. The Sáñkhya was evidently

the modern Upanishads are the works of Gaudapáda, Sankara, and other philosophers. Founders of new sects composed numerous other Upanishads of their own as the ancient ones did not suit their purpose.* The original Upanishads must ever occupy a prominent place in the sacred literature of the Indo-Aryans. The theological

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propounded against the doctrines of the Vedánta. It ignores the existence of God, and denies the identity of the individual soul with the Universal Soul. Nature is the final cause of creation ; and it is made up of *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*, or goodness, passion, and darkness. Nature and the soul are eternal. Creation takes place by the union of nature and soul. The Sáñkhya is dualistic in its principle, whereas the Vedánta is non-dualistic. As a further development of it, is the Yoga system. Both the Sáñkhya and Yoga systems mainly contributed to the development of Gnosticism in Asia Minor and to the growth of the Súfi philosophy. (Lassen, *Indian Antiquities*, iii. p. 379 ff). The Yoga hardly deserves the name of philosophy. In its principles it is the same as the Sáñkhya. It inculcates belief in a God, and Yoga or meditation as the means of obtaining beatitude. The system of Kapila is called the atheistic Sáñkhya, and that of Patamjali the theistic Sáñkhya. Yoga means union of the mind with God. It has eight limbs or stages : *Yama*, restraint ; *niyama*, religious observances ; *A'sana*, postures ; *Prá náyáma*, suppression of the breath ; *Pratyáhára*, restraint of the senses ; *Dhárana*, steadying of the mind ; *Dhyána*, contemplation ; *Samádhi*, profound meditation. The system of Nyáya is analytical and the Sáñkhya synthetical. There are sixteen catagories. Liberation is effected by a knowledge of all these predicaments. Some of the doctrines of the Nyáya are evidently opposed to the theories of the Mímánsá. Vaiseshika is a supplement of the Nyáya. It sets up particularity (visesha) which is predicable of atoms. Kanáda enumerates six catagories only to which the seventh was subsequently added.

* Ward's View of the History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus, ii. p. 61.

and philosophical speculations they contain are sublime productions of the human mind. They are the most ancient monuments of philosophical conceptions, and as such they are far more advanced both in the depth and loftiness of their ideas and opinions than any of the Greek schools prior to Socrates, except that of Elea. They contributed much towards the formation of the civil and domestic polity, and directed the whole tone of moral ordinances. They are considered with some show of reason as the highest authorities on which the various systems of philosophy are said to rest. The Vedánta philosopher seeks some warranty for his faith in the Veda; and the Sánkhya, the Vaiseshika, the Nyáya, and the Yoga philosophers profess to find in the Upanishads some authority for their opinions though there is no ground of harmony among them; the chief object of the Upanishads being to unfold the darkest points of philosophy and religion, to discuss the creation of the world, to descant on the nature of God, and to elucidate the relation of man to God and the like. They maintain that the individual or human soul is but a part of the Universal Soul, which is above pleasure and pain. What is predicated of the one, must also be predicated of the other. There is, however, not to be found any systematic uniformity in the Upanishads; and the philosophy contained in them is as sublime as it is in some places puerile. Indeed, they have with some exceptions clearly distinguished the principle of spiritual existence; and have successfully made the distinction between concrete existence and abstract being. But, in fact, the authors of them are merely poets rather than true philosophers; who indulge in rhapsodies, and exhibit no

great attempt at bringing into methodical arrangement or classification to-day's feelings with those of yesterday or of tomorrow.* They shadow forth the later Vedánta as the oracular denunciations of Herakleitos shadow forth the complete developed system of the Platonic philosophy. The reader of the Upanishads finds no difficulty in recognising familiar ideas in the rigid speculations of Plato as well as of Empedocles or Pythagoras, in the Neo-platonism of the Alexandrian school, as well as in the philosophy of the Gnostics. The Upanishads contain mythological as well as theosophical elements; and they exhibit a freedom of thought which was in fact the beginning of Hindu philosophy. And the key-note of the old Upanishads is "Know thy Self,"—know thy true Self, the eternal Self, which underlies the whole universe; but not the γνῶθισεαυτόν of the Delphic oracle. The Upanishads, from the beginning to the end, consist of texts which teach the unity and the transcendent nature of Self, and that all this world is the One Eternal Self—the one spiritual reality—the *Jagadátmana* or the *anima mundi*—from which all things proceed, in which all things subsist, and into which all things must be ultimately merged; and nothing will remain permanently distinct from the Highest Self which is looked upon as the starting point of all phenominal manifestations. In the Upanishads all this world is an illusion;† and the doctrine of metempsychosis appears everywhere in them. Illusion which is the germ of transmigratory experience, separates the personal self

* Banerjea's Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, pp. 14, 42 ff.

† Virgil's Georgics, iv. 223.

from the one impersonal. The Upanishads alone can destroy such illusion ; and upon the rise of true knowledge the individual self escapes from further new births and approaches to the genuine gnosis. The means of liberation from metempsychosis is not the perfomance of sacrificial rites, but the knowledge of the identity of self with the Eternal Self. They inculcate pantheism of one kind or another ; but, beyond doubt, their pantheism is of a very spiritual kind. And unity, indeed, is not opposed, but is indispensably necessary to the idea of pantheism. However, the theory of no two of them can be regarded as precisely the same. Some of them abound in speculations, much after the fashion of development philosophers, on the material cause of the world. They speak of the Unspeakable and define the Undefinable. The Unspeakable or the Undefinable of the Upanishads is not God but Self; and, on the whole, their system is a system of spiritnal absolutism. The great teachers of this *pará*, or superior knowledge, were Kshattriyas, and Brahmans are merelv represented as becoming pupils of the great Kshattriya kings. The Kshattriya mind first carried on these bold speculations ;* and we can scarcely avoid this conclusion when we add to this the remarkable fact that the Gáyatrí itself, the most sacred prayer of the Brahmans, is a hymn by an author, not a Brahman but a Kshattriya.† It is strange, that the Upanishads, which profess to be the repositories of superior knowledge, should abound in descriptions of carnal observances ; and set at defiance all rules of decency and morality.

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* Compare Chhándogya-upanishad, v. 3. † Visvámitra.

The B*ri*hadára*n*yaka constitutes the last five prapá*th*akas of the fourteenth book of the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a in the Mádhya*m*dina-*s*ákhá. The Upanishad properly so called is divided into six chapters, and each chapter is again subdivided into different bráhma*n*as. It wears a purely speculative and legendary character; and deals with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The Taittiríya-á'ra*n*yaka includes ten prapá*th*akas, of which the last four are styled the Upanishad, and the first six are properly called the A'ra*n*yaka. It is throughout ritualistic, and represents the latest period of Vaidik ideas. The sixth chapter of the A'ra*n*yaka gives in detail the whole of the funeral ceremonies required to be observed at burials. The Taittiríya-upanishad, a part of the Taittiríya-ára*n*yaka of the Black Yajus, is divided into three chapters, the *S*ikshá-vallí, the Brahmánanda-vallí, and the Bh*ri*gu-vallí. The first in 12 anuvákas, enjoins the study of the Vedas, the practice of religious acts, and the leading of a pious life. The second in 9 anuvákas, illustrates the doctrines of the Upanishad itself; and the third in 10 anuvákas, sets forth the knowledge of Brahma and the means of acquiring it, which is mainly the practice of austerity. We trace in it the germ of the Vedánta system. The Taittiríya-ára*n*yaka is older than the B*ri*hadára*n*yaka; and it shows a strange medley of post-Vaidik ideas and names. The Aitareya-ára*n*yaka consists of five books and forms a work by itself; the second and third books of which form the Bahv*ri*cha-upanishad. The first book of the A'ra*n*yaka is arranged in five chapters; the second in seven; the third in two; the fourth in one; and the fifth in three. These chapters again are sub-

divided into a number of kha*nd*as. With reference to its subjects it may be divided into two parts, the first liturgical, and the second philosophical. The liturgical comprises the first, fourth and fifth books; and the philosophical, the second and third books. The former portion is devoted to the Mahá-vrata, which is not independent but only a subsidiary rite; and the latter is confined to transcendent knowledge. This A'ra*n*ýaka is not the work of the same individual; and the first three books are said to be written under divine inspiration, and the rest by human authors. The Aitareya is more speculative and mystical than legendary or practical. There is another A'ra*n*yaka called the Kaushítaki-ára*n*yaka, which is divided into three books of which the third constitutes the Kaushítaki-upanishad. This A'ra*n*yaka treats more of ritual than of speculation. The Kaushítaki-upanishad consists of four chapters; and there is no doubt that it is contemporaneous with the B*ri*hadára*n*yaka of the White Yajus.* There are no A'ra*n*yakas for the Sáma-veda, nor for the Atharva-veda. The A'ra*n*yakas derive their authority from *S*ruti. Sáya*n*a states that the Taittiríya-upanishad comprises three parts, and they go by the names of Sá*m*hití, Yájuikí, and Váruní; of these the last is the most important, because it teaches the knowledge of the Divine Self. The Aitareya is taken from the second A'ra*n*yaka of the Aitareya-bráhma*n*a. It is divided into three chapters. The first includes three sections, the second and the last one section each. The first chapter describes the creation of the universe by God; and the second alludes

* Weber's History of Indian Literature p. 51.

to the three births of man; and the third explains the nature of the soul and of true knowledge. The Taittiríya and Aitareya resemble each other in a great measure. The *S*vetásvatara is comparatively modern. In fact, it does not belong to the series of the more ancient Upanishads. It is, however, more poetical than philosophical. It embraces six chapters, and exhibits signs of compilation. It contains many passages evidently borrowed from the Vedas and the other Upanishads; and there is little of arrangement. It was composed when the whole social and political system was consolidated; and also after the publication of the Vedánta and Sáṅkhya. We are not at all surprised that it is a compound of Vedánta pantheism and of the Sánkhya duality. The Vájasaneyi-upanishad is very short. It is composed of only eighteen *srutis*; and forms an index to the Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá. It defines the idea of Brahma and exalts the knowledge of the Supreme Spirit. It also alludes to two roads which may be followed by man, the one being the science of Brahma, and the other action according to the injunctions of the Vedas. The Talavakára, or Kena-upanishad, which is included in both the Atharvan and the Sáman, is one of the shortest and the most philosophical treatises of this kind. It puts in clearer language, perhaps, than any other Upanishad, the doctrine that the true knowledge of the Supreme Spirit consists in the consciousness which man acquires of his complete inability to understand him, since the human mind being capable only of comprehending finite objects, cannot have a knowledge of what is infinite. The Ka*th*a has always been considered as one of the best Upanishads; and it must be admitted, that in point of striking thoughts,

depth of expression, original ideas, beauty of its imagery, and ingenuous fervour, few stand equal to it. It consists of two adhyáyas, each of which contains three vallís. The first part is quite independent. But the second is composed almost entirely of Vaidik quotations, which prove more in detail the doctrine enunciated in the first. It is on this account that both the parts are with some reason taken as two distinct Upanishads. There can be no doubt as to the second part being later than the first; and this is clear from several other, particularly linguistic, reasons. But, Dr. Weber is of opinion that the Ka*th*a originally closed with the third vallí.* This Upanishad treats, first, of the highest object of man; second, the First Cause of the world and his attributes; third, the connexion of this Cause with the world. These questions are mooted in the different chapters in a manner which is quite peculiar to the Upanishads in general. The stand-point of the Ka*th*a is, however, on the whole, that of the scholastic doctrines of the Vedánta philosophy. We cannot give the same credit to the philosophy as to the form of the Ka*th*a. There is scarcely any link connecting the thoughts, so that they exhibit that it is plainly a compilation rather than the production of an original and devout thinker. According to the Ka*th*a, the knowledge of Brahma hangs upon a process of thinking, *i. e.* it is derived from philosophy, and not from revelation. The Pra*s*na, one of the Upanishads of the Atharva-veda, is divided into six pra*s*nas, each of which attempts to solve a distinct problem. The first pra*s*na sets forth a knowledge of the relation that exists between Prajápati

* Weber's Indische Studien, ii. pp. 197-200 ff.

and the creatures, the period of creation, and the manner in which Prajápati is to be worshipped. The description contained in it is altogether mythological and symbolical, and does not show any well-defined thought. The second shews his relation to the individual bodies. The third explains that life, when produced from the soul, is divided into the five vital airs (the πνευμα of the Greek philosophers), by whose regular action the functions of the body are sustained. The remaining part of this question furnishes us with a specimen of the anatomical and physiological knowledge of the author; and a bold attempt to apply the functions observed in the microcosm of the human body to the macrocosm of the world. The fourth describes the three states of the soul; and is altogether free from mythological embellishments. It also gives the substance of the doctrines of the entire Upanished. The fifth explains the *Om*; and the sixth does not offer any new question.

The Mu*nd*aka-upanishad is a mantra-upanishad and is composed in verse. It was not intended for sacrificial purposes. But it appears to be the work of a man who was a Mu*nd*aka, or "Shaveling," and at the same time faithful to the law. It contains three mu*nd*akas; each of which is sub-divided into two kha*nd*as. There are two sciences, according to the first mu*nd*aka, the *aparά* and the *pará*. The former is founded on the four Vedas and the six Vedângas; the latter refers to Brahma, that Being who is incomprehensible to the organs of action and intellect, and is without qualities. We find mention of the Vedânta and of the Yoga in this Upanishad. "It would almost be a contradiction in terms to say that the Mu*nd*aka is a section of the Atharva-veda, which it

condemns, along with the others, as inferior science. And if it must be referred to a post-Vaidik age, it would be difficult to affirm that it was composed before the age of Buddha."* The identity between the Ka*th*a, Pra*s*na and Mu*nd*aka appears not merely in the mode of explanation, but also in the images and in entire passages. More particularly is this the case between the Mu*nd*aka and the Ka*th*a than between the Mu*nd*aka and the Pra*s*na upanishads. Which of these Upanisdads was the original, or, what relation they bear to other sources, can hardly be determined. This much, however, may be said, that the Pra*s*na bears every mark of compilation. The Má*nd*ukya has only twelve *slokas*. In these *slokas* the meaning of the mystical syllable *Om* is unravelled. This Upanishad is taken from various sources. From it, the contents having been stripped of their abstruse phraseology, we are to understand that Brahma comprehends all things, both objects of perception and those that are beyond the reach of perception. Brahma has four modes of existence, the waking state, the state of dreaming, the state of profound sleep, and a fourth state quite different from any of the former; this state is indescribable, in which all manifestations cease, it is blissful and without duality. The Má*nd*ukya is one of the latest among the Upanishads which show the Infinite Spirit in its primitive notion, wholly uninfluenced by sectarian views. The order, in which the state of Brahma's existence is described, exhibits, on the whole, a very profound mode of thought. The Chhándogya-upanishad consists of eight chapters. It is more modern than the B*ri*hadá-

* Banerjea's Dialogues, p. 319.

ra*n*yaka, which probably belongs to the eastern part of Hindustan.* In the Chhándogyopanishad a number of most curious modes of *upásanás* are prescribed. One of these devotions is so grossly obscene and filthy that we must refrain from translating or reproducing it here. There is a passage in the Upanishad (vi. 2) which contains the well-known formula *ekamevádvitíyama,* which is inexplicable except in a pantheistic sense.† The Bahv*ri*chas placed A'tman or the Self at the beginning of all things. The Taittiríyakas speak of Brahma as true, omniscient and infinite. Calling Brahma as neuter, they give proofs of their having been impressed with the idea of a Power. It was decidedly an era in the history of the human intellect when the apparent identity of the Self in the masculine, and Brahma in the neuter, was for the first time clearly established. The Chhandogas speak of a *Sat*, or, the τὸ ὄν which has the tendency to be many. The A'tharva*n*ikas speak of the Creator as *Akshara*; and it is very uncertain whether they used this word to mean Element or the Indestructible. The term used by the

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 70.

† "In the beginning, my dear, this was the extent, one only, without a second."—Prof Müller, in his translation, omits "this" altogether and so perfectly alters the drift of the passage. *Sa*m*kara* distinctly says that "this" has reference to the universe, and that "in the beginning" means "before production." The tenour of the passage then really is that this world before its evolution, subsisted potentially in Brahma, its material cause. In the same Upanishad (iii. 14, 1), we find the words, "All this is indeed Brahma, being produced from, resolved into, and existing in him." In this case, as before, "this" distinctly refers to the world of perception. The creation, then, is but a multiplication and development of Himself; and the world is consubstantial with God.

Vájasaneyins is *Avyákrita*, or the Undeveloped. The Upanishads are the principal parts of the Vedas. Of all the Vaidik works, they were the last composed.

The Mantras, the Bráhma*n*as, the A'ra*n*yakas, and the Upanishads are designated under the term of *S*ruti; while the term Sm*ri*ti includes the Vedángas, the Sútras, either *S*rauta or G*ri*hya, &c. *S*ruti means revelation, and Sm*ri*ti recollection. The Mantras are either metrical hymns or prose forms of prayer, in which the praises of the gods are celebrated, and their blessing is invoked. The *Ri*k and the Sáman consist of hymns of the former description. The Bráhma*n*as arose out of the hymns, and so stand next to them. They embrace liturgical prescriptions regarding the ceremonial employment of the hymns, and the celebration of various rites and sacrifices; and include also such treatises as the A'ra*n*yakas and the Upanishads. The A'ra*n*yakas and the Upanishads are theological treatises, which bear the same character as do some of the older portions of the Bráhma*n*as. They give very distinct indications of spiritual aspirations, and also of ideas of a speculative and mystical character such as we find in the hymns, and in the earlier portions of the Bráhma*n*as; but only with this exception that in those treatises they have been further matured as they developed in the minds of subsequent generations of sages. The distinction between *S*ruti and Sm*ri*ti had been established by the Brahmans prior to the rise of Buddhism, or prior to the time when the style of the Sútras gained admittance into Indian literature. This difference, in fact, occurs in the Bráhma*n*as.* The term Sm*ri*ti is also met

* Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, vii. 9.

with in the Taittiríyáranyaka,* though it is used there in the sense of *S*ruti. That Sm*ri*ti has no claim to an independent authority, but derives its sanction from its relation to *S*ruti, is to be understood by its very name which means tradition. In the Sútras the distinction is clearly made between *S*ruti and Sm*ri*ti. We also find the same distinction in the Anupada-sútra.† And in the Nidána-sútra ancient tradition is also mentioned under the name of Sm*ri*ti.‡

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* Taittiríyára*n*yaka, i. 1, 2.

† Anupada-sútra, ii. 4.

‡ Nidána-sútra, ii. 1.

CHAPTER III.

The Sútra Period.

THE Sútra is the technical name given to aphoristic rules, and also to those works which consist of such rules. The Sútras, upon the whole, rest, though not entirely, upon the Bráhma*n*as. The importance of the term, however, may be conceived from the fact, that the groundworks of the whole ritual, grammatical, metrical, and philosophical literature of India are indited in the aphoristic style, which exhibits one of the peculiarities of Indian authorship. Though there is no clear evidence as to the cause which gave birth to this peculiarity in Sa*m*sk*ri*t composition; the method of instruction followed in ancient India renders it probable that these Sútras were so composed as to facilitate the studies of pupils who had to learn simply by heart. But it is also equally probable that this method of schooling itself gained ground owing to the want of suitable materials for writing purposes, and in consequence of the expediency of economising those materials so far as could be possible.* Thus great brevity and a rigid economy of words was practised. The Sútra works are all brief, systematic, and enigmatical. Every doctrine thus propounded in them is so strained and twisted in every possible manner that it is almost reduced to mere algebraic symbols. The most obscure brevity is the principal object which guided the authors of the Sútra works. "Even the bare simplicity of the design vanishes in the perplexity of the structure." Owing to curtness

* Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 25 f.

and elliptical obscurity these Sútras are almost unintelligible. In fact, to acquire mastery over the Sútra works is next to impossible, without the help of the key which is found in separate Sútras called Paribháshá. Notwithstanding this key the student must also be in possession of the laws of the so-called Anuv*ri*tti and Nirv*ri*tti. They are certainly one of the most curious sorts of literary composition that the hnman mind has ever produced; and if altogether worthless in an artistic point of view, it is remarkable that the Indo-Aryans should have fabricated this most difficult form, and adopted it as the most convenient vehicle of expression of every branch of learning.

The elaborate and overstrained conciseness of the Sútras renders them in a high degree obscure and ambiguous. Notwithstanding the key to their interpretations, there are to be found many seeming contradictions. The Sútras bewilder even a scholar, and puzzle him at the very threshold in the obscure labyrinth of symbols and abbreviations. The Sútra works contain the quintessence of all the knowledge which was then floating about in the Parishads, and which the Brahmans themselves had accumulated during many centuries of study and reflection. The cut and dry style of the Sútra is so peculiar to India that it allows of no comparison with the style of composition of other countries in the early times when they were composed.

We have to search for the Vedánga doctrines in all their originality and authenticity in the Bráhma*n*as and the Sútras; and not in those barren tracts which are now known by the name of Vedángas. The Vedángas are not parts of the Vedas themselves, but supplementary to

them; and in the form in which we now possess them, are not wholly genuine; and in fact, are of little importance. They are, however, auxiliary books for understanding the Vedas. All those works were composed with the object of their being practical; and they exhibit quite a novel phase in the literature of the ancient Indians. Their authors were not inspired, and the style which they employed to subserve their purpose, was business-like on the whole. Manu calls them Pravachanas,* a title which is usually applied to the Bráhma*n*as. We find the earliest mention of the six Vedángas in one of the Bráhma*n*as of the Sáman.† Yáska also (Nir. i. 20) alludes to the Vedángas; but he does not give the title of any of them. The number of the six Vedángas is given in the Chara*n*avyúha, in Manu (iii. 185) and also in the Chhándogyopanishad. The Mu*nd*akopanishad also gives us the entire number of the Vedángas. A clear statement as to the rational character of the Vedángas is given in the B*ri*hadára*n*yaka, and in its commentary.

The first Vedánga is called *S*ikshá, which, according to Sáya*n*a, who lived in the 14th century A. D.,‡ comprises rules regarding letters, accents, quantity, organs, enumeration, delivery, and euphonic combinations. This little treatise is ascribed to Pá*n*ini; and it is possible that we may not find it to be an original Vedánga work. Pá*n*ini's *S*ikshá consists in one recension of thirty-five, and in another of fifty-nine verses. We have another tract on *S*ikshá, called the Má*nd*úkí-Sikshá, which is

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* Manu, iii. 184.

† Sha*d*vi*ms*a-bráhma*n*a, iv. 7.

‡ Wilson's *Ri*g-veda, i. p. xlviii; Müller's Sanskrit Researches, p. 137.

probably a later production of the Sútra period; but it is of great importance as it bears the name of a certain Chara*n*a of the *R*ig-veda, the Má*n*dúkáyna. The rules on *S*ikshá had formerly a place in the seventh book of the Taittiríyára*n*yaka; and Sáya*n*a also takes the same view in his commentary on the Sá*m*hití-upanishad. In fact, this book is called the *S*ikshá chapter; and it is more than doubtful whether it was ever considered as such.* The Sikshás profess to give only the rules for the correct pronunciation and proper recitation of the Vaidik texts. Professor Haug says that the *S*ikshás are older than the Práti*s*ákhyas, and that the doctrines embodied in the former were incorporated and more fully developed in the latter. Dr. Burnell holds the same view. He has also ascribed the *S*ikshás, or at any rate their teachings to a school of grammarians which is believed to have preceded that of Pá*n*ini.† But a perusal of manuals such as the *S*ikshás has driven us to the conclusion that they are modern compilations.‡ A comparison of the contents of both classes of works has also thoroughly convinced us that the teachings of the *S*ikshás are more complete and more minute than those of the Práti*s*ákhyas, which again teach much that is not met with in the former. However, it is very probable that the *S*ikshás were in existence when Pata*m*jali composed his great commentary on Kátyáyana's Várttikas.

The second is called Chhandas which treats of metre. A knowledge of Chhandas was considered most essential to the right application and correct recitation of

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* Indian Antiquary, v. pp. 141 ff; 193 ff.

† Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, p. 47.

‡ Kielhorn's Remarks on the *S*ikshás, p. 9.

the mantras. The *S*ákala Prátis*á*khya contains some chapters on metre, which are far more valuable than the utterly unimportant work known under the name of Chhandas. The other works on metre are the Nidána-sútra in 10 prapá*th*akas and the *S*ruta-bodha. We also find frequent allusions to the subject of metres in the Bráhma*n*as. The work of Pingalanága on Chhandas, which is frequently quoted under the title of Vedánga, is not of great antiquity; and it becomes very doubtful whether it is an original Vedánga work.* Some suppose Pingala was the same as Pata*m*jali, the author of the Mahábháshya.† But the identity of Pingala and Pata*m*jali is far from being probable. It is not surprising that Pingala does not confine himself exclusively to the metres of Sa*m*skr*i*t. He also gives rules bearing on the metres of Prákr*i*ta; and even Kátyáyana-vararuchi, the author of the Várttikas on Pá*n*ini, the great Father of Sa*m*skr*i*t Grammar, is said to have written a Prákr*i*ta grammar. It must be admitted that the treatise of Pingala on Chhandas was one of the last books that were included in the Sútra period. Prof. Wilson supposes it to be scarcely regarded as belonging to this period. But on no ground can we exclude it from this period altogether. Pingala is quoted as an authority on metre in the Pari*s*ish*t*as. We learn from Sha*d*guru*s*ishya that Pingala was the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pá*n*ini. And according to some Pingala may be as old as the second century B. C.

The third is called Vyákara*n*a. The Indo-Aryans

* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 66.

† Colebrooke's Essays, ii. p. 63.

cultivated the science of grammar from the earliest times. Eight different schools of grammar prevailed in India. Páṇini's system undoubtedly superseded all other systems. Of all these schools of grammar the Aindra was the oldest; and the treatises of that school are actually quoted by Páṇini.* Páṇini's grammar is called the Ashṭádhyáyí, and sometimes Ashṭakam Páṇiníyam. Páṇini is the only representative of this Vedánga; and his grammar consists of eight adhyáyas or books, each adhyáya comprising four pádas or chapters, and each páda a number of sútras or aphoristic rules. The latter amount on the whole to 3996 sútras, composed with the symbolic brevity of the most concise *memoria technica*; but three or four of them did not originally belong to the work. The first adhyáya explains the technical terms employed in the grammar and the rules for their use and interpretation; the second explains compound words; the third, fourth, and fifth treat on the various affixes and their meanings; the sixth, seventh, and eighth relate changes to which roots and affixes are liable under augments and substitutions of various kinds. The sútras are all made up of the driest technicalities; and their arrangement is based on the principle of tracing linguistic phenomena. In a general manner, Páṇini's grammar may be called a natural history of the Samskṛit language. He records such phenomena of the language as are exceedingly interesting and valuable from a grammatical point of view. Words which he has treated of are also of historical and antiquarian interest. He also gives very useful information about the ancient geography of

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* Burnell's Aindra Grammarians, p. 2.

India. His grammar is built, no doubt, on the perfect phonetic system of which he was not altogether the inventor.* The source of Pá*n*ini's purely grammatical doctrines must be sought for elsewhere ; and it is sufficiently evident that he quotes various grammarians who had preceded him. To fix the age in which Pá*n*ini lived, is a task we are incapable of performing ; as many of the Indian authors shine, to use the words of a well-known Sa*m*sk*r*it scholar, like fixed stars in India's literary firmament, but no telescope can discover any appreciable diameter. However, it must be of some interest to know whether that Patriarch of Sa*m*sk*r*it Philology is likely to have lived before or after the death of Buddha. According to the views expressed by Prof. Goldstücker it is probable that Pá*n*ini's age may be six centuries B. C. ; and he, therefore, lived before Buddha,† whose death took place about 477 or 478 B. C. Pá*n*ini was a native of *S*alátura, situated in the Gandhára country north west of Attock on the Indus. Whence he is called *S*áláturíya. His mother was called Dákshí (i. 1, 20). He was a descendant of Pa*n*in, and grandson of Devala. He, therefore, belonged to the north-western or the western school.

The Mahábháshya by Pata*m*jali is not a full commentary to Pá*n*ini, but with some exceptions, only a commentary on the Várttikas or critical remarks of Kátyáyana on Pá*n*ini ; and so it is rather a controversial manual.‡

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 216.

† Compare Lassen's Indian Antiquities, i. p. 864 ; and also Weber's Indische Studien, v. p. 136 ff.

‡ Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, pp. 119-121 ; Weber's Indische Studien, xiii. p. 297 f ; and also Burnell's Aindra Grammarians, pp. 91-92.

Pata*m*jali, no doubt, proposed to himself the task of a commentator; bnt evidently he became a follower of Kátyáyana, whose work he was commenting upon. Pata*m*jali adopted Kátyáyana's method of discussing the rules of Pá*n*ini. There is no reason to doubt that the object of both the authors, and the nature of their remarks on Pá*n*ini's Sútras are identically the same; but those remarks differ only in form and extent.* From circumstantial evidence Prof. Goldstücker has proved that Pata*m*jali wrote his Mahábháshya between 140 and 120 B. C.† Kátyáyana, who was a follower and judicious admirer, and not an antagonist of Pá*n*ini, was most likely the same with Kátyáyana who wrote the grammatical treatise called the Práti*s*ákhya of the White Yajus. At any rate Pata*m*jali was not the same person with the author of the Yoga philosophy. Goldstücker has further shown that he could not have been the contemporary of Pá*n*ini as is generally supposed. He has also proved that this Kátyáyana was the contemporary of Pata*m*jali; and probably being the teacher of the latter, he must have lived in the middle of the second century before Christ.‡ A sufficiently long time—about two hundred years at least—must have elapsed between Kátyáyana and Pata*m*jali to give rise to the variants or emendations as met with in the Várttikas of Kátyáyana. Kátyáyana belongs to the time of the Nandas; and we must assign to him the first half of the fourth century B. C. Pata*m*jali lived in the reign of Pushpamitra; and, probably, he

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* Kielhorn's Kátyáyana and Patanjali, pp. 47 f.

† Pá*n*ini: His Place in Sanskrit Literature, p. 235 ff.

‡ Weber's Indische Studien, xiii. p. 297 ff.

wrote the third chapter of his Mahábháshya between 144 B. C. and 142 B. C. He, then, must have flourished in 150 B. C.* We obtain some information about Kátyáyana from the Kathásaritságara, the encyclopædia of legends, by Somadeva Bha*tt*a of Ká*s*mír. But after all we are to reject it as an episode in the story of a ghost. Somadeva composed it for the entertainment of the grand-mother of *S*rí-Harshadeva, king of Ká*s*mír, who ascended the throne of that country in 1059, and reigned, according to Abú'lfazel, only 12 years; and consequently it must have been written between 1059 and 1071, or a few years earlier. The Kathásaritságara is supposed by many to be the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology.

There are two other works on grammatical subjects: the U*nn*ádi-sútra, and the Phi*t*-sútra of Sántanácharya. As to when Sántana's Phi*t*-sutra was composed we are perfectly in the dark. Pá*n*ini does not pre-suppose a knowledge of them; and the grammatical terms employed by Sántana are quite different from those adopted by Pá*n*ini. Although those Sútras treat simply of accents, and accents such as are used in the Vaidik language; the subject of Sántana's work does not warrant us to suppose that he was anterior to Pá*n*ini. "The U*n*ádi-Sútras are rules for deriving, from the acknowledged verbal roots of the Sanskrit, a number of appellative nouns, by means of a species of suffixes, which, though nearly allied to the so-called *krits*, are not commonly used for the purposes of derivation." . . . "A peculiarity of all words derived by an u*n*ádi is, that, whether they be substantives or adjectives, they do not

* Indian Antiquary, i. p. 302.

express a general or indefinite agent, but receive an individual signification, not necessarily resulting from the combination of the suffix with a verbal root."* The U*nn*ádi-sútras we now possess, are not in their original form. It was not the object of the author to give a complete list of all the u*nn*ádi words, but simply to collect the most important of them. In fact, these were originally intended for the Veda only, and subsequently enlarged by the addition of rules on the formation of non-Vaidik words. It is not known by whom the U*nn*ádi-sútras were first collected. Pá*n*ini frequently refers in his Sútras to a list of affixes or u*nn*ádis, but not to the U*nn*ádi-sútras.† It is, therefore, probable that those affixes must have existed before his time.‡ By some the U*nn*ádi-sútras are ascribed to *S*áka*t*áyana,§ a *S*údra and follower of Buddha, who was an ancient grammarian anterior to Yáska. But a very interesting passage in Viralá's Rupamálá distinctly ascribes the authorship of the U*nn*ádi-sútras to Vararuchi who is no other than Kátyáyana.¶

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* Aufrecht's U*n*ádi-Sútras, p. v.

† Pá*n*ini, iii. 3, 1 ; iii. 4, 76.

‡ Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 151.

§ The grammar of *S*áka*t*áyana, which is entitled the *S*ábdánu*s*ásana, occupies an important place in the later grammatical literature of India. Undoubtedly Hemachandra is indebted to him in the composition of his grammar. He also used the grammar of Chandra, as well as the works belonging to the school of Pá*n*ini. His grammar, then, is nothing more than a revised and perhaps an enlarged redaction of the grammar of *S*áka*t*áyana who is said to have been a Jaina.

¶ Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 240.

The fourth Vedánga is the Nirukta of Yáska, the oldest glossator on the Veda. The Nirukta is a sort of commentary on the Nigha*n*tus ; and frequently it is found to refer to the Bráhma*n*as, and bring forward various legends such as those about Devápi (xi. 10) and Vi*s*vámitra (ii. 24). The Nirukta is older than Pá*n*ini. Yáska alludes to various schools of Vaidik exegesis, which prevailed long before his age, such as the Nairuktas or "etymologists," the Aitihásikas or "legendary writers," and the Yájnikas or "ritualists" ; and also furnishes us with the names of no less than seventeen interpreters who had preceded him ;* but their explanations of the Veda generally conflict with one another. The Nigha*nt*us comprise a vocabulary of synonymous, obsolete, and obscure Vaidik terms. The Nigha*nt*us and the Nirukta are closely connected ; the former, however, is older than the latter. Yáska ascribes the Nigha*nt*us to an ancient tradition. If the Nirukta belongs to Yáska, the Nigha*nt*us could not have been written by him. However to the Nirukta we are inclined to attribute a very high antiquity ; it belongs to the oldest part of Sa*m*sk*rit* literature excepting the Vaidik writings, and to an already far advanced period of grammar and interpretation.

Yáska prefixed the Nigha*nt*us to his own work, the Nirukta, in which he throws light on the obscure passages of the Vedas. The Nirukta consists of three parts. The first part, or the Naigha*nt*uka, comprises a collection of synonymous words, the second, or Naigama, a collection

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* Roth's Illustrations, pp. 221f ; see also Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 26.

of words peculiar to the Vedas, and the third, or Daivata, words relating to deities and sacrifices. In this Vedánga we find the first fundamental notions of grammar. It is obvious that when this work of Yáska was composed, and even at a much earlier period, the sense of most of the Vaidik words had become completely obscure. This clearly appears from the fact of such works as the Nighan*t*us and the Nirukta being written at all. The Nirukta together with the Prátis*á*khyas and the grammar of Pá*n*ini supplies the most important information on the growth of grammatical science in India. Yáska is wholly unacquainted with such algebraical symbols as are contained in Pá*n*ini. The introduction to the Nirukta, which supplies us with a full sketch of a grammatical and exegetical system, gives the views of Yáska and his predecessors; and in this manner we are able to establish a complete comparison of these older grammarians with Pá*n*ini. Müller holds Pá*n*ini to be anterior to Yáska, though Yáska is named by Pá*n*ini ;* and there can be no doubt that Pá*n*ini was posterior to Yáska.

The fifth is the Kalpa or the Ceremonial. The Bráhma*n*as are the sources of the Vaidik ritual, which became completely developed and systematized in the ritual works called the Kalpa-sútra. The composition of the Kalpa-sútras is in some respects an important event in the Vaidik history. Though the Kalpa works do not claim to be Sm*ri*tis, yet they are enumerated amongst the Svádhyáyas. The Kalpa-sútra must have been drawn up for the easy reference of the priests, who would otherwise have to grope in the dark through the liturgical

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* Pá*n*ini, ii. 4, 63: यास्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ।

Samhitás and Bráhmanas for the *disjecta membra* of the sacrificial and other rites. Thus we possess Kalpa-sútra, connected with the *Rig*-veda by A'svaláyana, *S*ánkháyana, and *S*aunaka; with the Sáma-veda by Masaka,* Látyáyana, Gobhila, Dráhyáyana, and a Sútra called Anupada-sútra; with the Black Yajur-veda by A'pastamba, Baudháyana, Satyá-shádha-Hiranyakesin, Mánava, Bháradvája, etc.; with the White Yajur-veda by Kátyáyana; and with the Atharva-veda by Kusika. There is another Kalpa work belonging to the Atharva-veda, which is called the Vaitána-sútra; and which cannot claim a very remote antiquity. The Vaitána-sútra pre-supposes the existence of the Kausika-sútra. Kátyáyana also takes notice of this Sútra work. It bears the same relation to the Gopatha-bráhmana as does the A'svaláyana-*S*rauta-sútra to the Aitareya-bráhmana.† Though it is a *S*rauta-sútra of the Atharvan it was composed under the influence of the Yajus. It does not contain magical hymns and conjurations; but it includes much interesting matter which we do not find in other ritual works.‡ The Kalpa-sútra is divided into three classes, such as *S*rauta, G*ri*hya, and Sámayácharika: the first prescribes the especial Vaidik ceremonials, such as those which are to be celebrated on the days of new and full moon. The rites according to the *S*rauta-sútra can be performed by the rich and no

* Is this name connected with the Μάσσαγα of the Greeks? Lassen's Indian Antiquities, i. p. 130; Weber's Indische Studien, iv. p. 78.

† Haug's Aitareya-bráhmana, i. p. 8; see also Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 57.

‡ Garbe's Vaitána-Sútra, pp. v–viii; see also Weber's Indische Studien, x. p. 176; and Roth's Atharva-veda in Kashmir, p. 22.

other people ; and have, therefore, been made obligatory only under certain restrictions. The second enjoins the domestic rites to be performed at various stages of life from birth to death. The G*ri*hya-sútras give general rules which are to be observed at marriages, at the birth of a child, on the day of naming the child, at the tonsure and investiture of a boy, and at the time of and after the death of a person. Indeed, the G*ri*hya-sútras embody rules for the five daily acts of domestic devotion named Maháyajna as well as for those principal and purificatory ceremonies which are included under the general name of *samskáras** or certain sacramental rites. There are precise directions in regard to investiture with the sacred thread. This ceremony is of great importance, and is supposed to confer a second spiritual birth. This is enjoined for a Brahman in his eighth year, for a Kshattriya in his eleventh, and for a Vai*s*ya in his twelfth ; though under peculiar circumstances, the time may be extended in each case.† The G*ri*hya-sútras specify the eight forms of marriage, called Bráhma, Daiva, Prájápatya, A'rsha, Gándharva, A'sura, Pai*s*ácha, and Rákshasa ;‡ and recommend the selection of a wife after due enquiry as to family and condition.§ They also prescribe the funeral rites to be performed at the cremation and burial of dead bodies ; and also four kinds of *S*ráddha, such as Párva*n*a (monthly), Kámya (voluntary), ábhyudayika (performed as thanksgiving on occasions

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* Cf. Wilson's Dictionary, s. v.

† Compare Manu, ii. 36-38.

‡ Compare Manu, iii. 21 ; Yájnavalkya, i. 58, 62.

§ G*ri*hya-sútra, v. 3. Compare Manu, iii. 4-10.

of family rejoicings), and Ekoddish*t*a (special).* The rites and ceremonies according to the G*r*ihya are called Páka-yajna or sacrifices with food.† A Páka-yajna consists in a piece of wood being placed in the fire in a hearth, oblations made to the gods, and gifts bestowed on the Brahmans. The third regulates the daily observances of the twice-born. The rules of the Sámayáchárika-sútra are based rather on secular than sacred authority. They describe the duties of a student as a Brahmachárin or catechumen in the house of his preceptor. They regulate the proper diet of a Brahman. They prescribe what food is allowable and what not; what days should be allotted for fasting; and what penances ought to be performed for not observing duty. They decide, in a great measure, the duties and rights of kings and magistrates, the civil rights of the people at large, and even rules of social politeness. Of the G*r*ihya-sútra of the *Rig*-veda, we have that by *S*ánkháyana and by A'*s*valáyana; a G*r*ihya-sútra of the Sáma-veda is that of Gobhila; of the Black Yajur-veda we possess the Baudháyana; and of the White Yajur-veda, the Páraskara-G*r*ihya-sútra. The G*r*ihya-sútra ascribed to *S*ánkháyana is based on the *Rig*-veda in the Váshkala recension, and on the Kaushítaki-bráhma*n*a. Its author, who is generally known by his family name *S*ánkháyana, had the proper name

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* Compare Manu, iii. 123-286.

† The most ancient sacrifices are called Páka-yajnas. They are the simplest in form. The term *Páka* signifies small. It is used in the *Rig*-veda in that sense (i. 164, 5); and is identical with Latin *Paucus.* When the complex sacrifices under the *S*rauta-system began to be held, the regular sacrifices came to be called "small." Doubtless, the Aryans used it before their separation.

Suyajna. The Dráhyáyana belongs to the school of the Ránáyaníyas. It differs but slightly from the Látyáyana, and treats of the same identical matter. The Látyáyana belongs to the school of the Kauthumas. The first seven prapáthakas of the Látyáyana-sútra contain the injunctions applicable to all the Soma sacrifices ; the 8th and part of the 9th prapáthaka treat of the *ekáhas* ; the remainder of the 9th of the *ahínas ;* and the 10th of the *sattras* or the sacrificial sessions.

The Kalpa works mark a new period in the literary and religious history of India ; and they contributed, no doubt, to the total extinction of the numerous Bráhmanas. From a comparison of the Bráhmanas with the Kalpa books it appears that the difference between them is of extreme importance. They are found to treat in the most elaborate manner of the entire system of divine worship, each in a quite different way. The Kalpa books establish the whole course of the rites of worship. They direct which of the priests have to take part at each of the stages of the sacred rites, what hymns are to be recited, and further define the time and place for the celebration of those rites. But the object of a Bráhmana is very different from the Kalpa works ; its subject being the "brahma," the sacred element in the rite ; from which we are to draw the most valuable information regarding the early conceptions on divine matters.* At any rate, the introduction of a Kalpa-sútra was the introduction of a new book of liturgy. The Srauta and the Grihya-sútra are of much greater value than the Sámayácharika. The Grihya- and the

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* Roth's Introduction to the Nirukta, p. xxiv ff.

Sámayácharika-sútra have generally been confounded; but the Brahmans draw a line of demarcation between the two, the G*ri*hya-ceremonies being performed by the married house-holder with no other purpose than for the benefit of his family. The *S*rauta-sútra means the whole body of the sútras, the source of which can be traced to the *S*ruti or the literature of revelation, the Mantra and the Bráhma*n*a; while the Smárta-sútra can have no claim to such source. The main difference between the two lies not in their matter; but in the age and style of composition. The *S*rauta-sútra treats of the grand and public religious ceremonies, rites and sacrifices (Haviryajnas* and Somayajnas). Both the G*ri*hya- and the Sámayácharika-sútra are included under the common title of Smárta-sútra, in opposition to the Srauta-sútra. The former derived their authoiity from the Sm*ri*ti, and the latter from the *S*ruti. The Sámayáchárika-sútra is also called Dharma-sútra, and it seems to have been the source of the Dharma-*s*ástras.† The Kalpa-sútra is a complete system of ritualism, and gives the whole method of the sacred ceremonial with great precision. It is not yet proved that the Kalpa-sútra is a part of the Vedas; and, in fact, it is impossible to do. They were composed contemporaneously with Pá*n*ini. We are here to observe once for all that there are ten sútras of the Sáma-veda; and these Sáma-sútras do not all treat of the Kalpa or the Ceremonial. Some of them are more than mere lists, and their style approaches that of the Sútras. The ritual work called the Mánava-kalpa-sútra, which is connected with the Taittiríya-

* Offerings of milk, butter, grain-food, and similar materials.

† Morley's Digest of Indian Cases, p. cxcvi.

sa*m*hitá, sets forth or sanctions, more than the other Kalpa-sútra, the dogmas and conclusions of the Mímánsá philosophers. This Kalpa-work is later than the Sútra of Baudháyana and older than that of A'pastamba.* During the time of the composition of these Sútra works, the whole system of social organisation was developed, and the distinction of caste was fully established. On examining the Sútra works and especially the G*ri*hya-sútra we find that women had no right to the use of the Vedas. Yet, we learn from the same source that the husband in conjunction with his wife performed sacrifices and other rites. Women were allowed to repeat *mantras* at the time of sacrifices ; and they were never scrupulously or entirely denied the knowledge of God.

The sixth and last of the Vedángas is Jyotisha. Works of astronomy were very scanty ; and the only copy we now possess of it is comparatively modern, and its literature is also very meagre. But it embraces some of the most ancient astronomical ideas. The Jyotisha is a short tract embracing thirty-six verses, which are composed in a comparatively modern style. Its main object is to offer only such information about the heavenly bodies as were useful in fixing the days and hours of the Vaidik sacrifices, and not to teach astronomy as a science. It is, however, remarkable that the Jyotisha gives the method of constructing a clepsydra or water-clock.†

The Prátis*á*khyas were designated Chara*n*as ; because

* Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 12.

† Weber's edition, p. 78 *seq.*

they were the property of the readers of certain *S*ákhás. They are really a sub-division of the Párshada books. The Párshada is another title often applied to the Prátis*á*khyas. The existing representatives of the Prátis*á*khyas, in all probability, were composed subsequent to the age of Pá*n*ini ;* and most of their rules are intended to supply the deficiencies in the Sútras of that grammarian. The Prátis*á*khyas are not grammars ; they are rather phonetic treatises ; and their object is to regulate the euphonic combination of letters and their proper pronunciation according to the practice followed by the different *S*ákhás of the Vedas. The Prátis*á*khyas are nothing more than "theological and mystical dreams ;" but they are not altogether destitute of exegetical or critical value. There is no doubt that they were written for practical purposes ; and their style is free from cumbrous ornaments and unnecessary subtleties. Their object is to teach rather than to edify. A great number of authors are referred to in the Prátis*á*khyas ; and opinions with general precepts are found in them. Though we do not possess the works of the earlier authors, yet we may fairly assume that their favourite doctrines were treasured up originally in the shape of Prátis*á*khyas. These writings contain rules on accent, Sandhi, on the permutation of sounds, the lengthening of the vowels in the Vedas, &c. The Kuladharmas are not Prátisákhyas ; but they claim the title of Chara*n*a or Párshada.

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* Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p. 183 ff; Müller's *Rig*-veda Prátis*á*khya, Introduction ; Weber's Indische Studien, xiii. p. 3 ff., and his History of Indian Literature, p. 24.

There are Prátiśákhyas belonging to the *Ri*g-veda, the Sáma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. The oldest among them is the *Ri*g-veda-prátiśákhya. But when the Taittiríya-prátiśákhya or the Kátyáyana-prátiśákhya originated we cannot approximately say. The Prátiśákhya of the Sáma-veda shows how the Sa*m*hitá text rests on the eventual basis of the Pada text. The rules of the Prátiśákhyas were not merely a guide in the instructions of pupils who had to learn the texts of the Vedas by heart ; but they were no doubt intended also for written literature. According to the representation of the Prátiśákhya there are three modes of writing the Vedas, viz. the Sa*m*hitá-pá*th*a, the Pada pá*th*a and the Krama-pá*th*a. The Sa*m*hitá-pá*th*a means the mode of writing according to the rules of permutation ; the Pada-pá*th*a separates single words. And the Krama-pá*th*a is two-fold, viz. the Var*n*a-krama and the Pada-krama. The Var*n*a-krama always doubles the first consonant of a group of consonants ; and the Pada-krama takes two words of the sentence together, and always reiterates the second of them with a following one. Of all the Prátiśákhyas of the numerous Vaidik Sa*m*hitás, the Prátiśákhya belonging to the *S*ákala-śákhá is by far the most complete.

There is another class of Sútra works called the Anukrama*n*ís. The Anukrama*n*í to the *Ri*g-veda is perfect in every respect. It is called the Sarvánukrama*n*í which gives the first word of each hymn, the number of the verses, the names and families of the authors, the names of the deities to whom hymns are addressed, and the metre of every verse. Before the Sarvánukrama*n*í was composed there existed separate indexes for each of the subjects, which were ascribed to *S*aunaka. The Sarvánu-

kramaní is said to have been composed by Kátyáyana. The Brihaddevatá of Saunaka being very voluminous, is not reckoned among the Anukramanís. It is composed in epic metre, and contains an enumeration of the gods invoked in the hymns of the Rig-veda; and further supplies much valuable mythological information about the character of the deities of the Vedas. It is not unreasonable to suppose, judging from the general tenor and the style of the Brihaddevatá, that it was recast by a later writer. The Brihaddevatá belongs to a much later period than most of the Sútras; and it is, in fact, based upon the work of Yáska.* Dr. Kuhn infers from a passage in Shadgurusishya's commentary that not Saunaka, but A'svaláyana was the author of the Brihaddevatá. This inference, however, is not supported by sufficient evidence. Saunaka writes in mixed slokas, and breaks in many cases the laws of metre. Kátyáyana wrote in prose much after the fashion of the later Sútras. The relation between Saunaka and Kátyáyana was very intimate; and both of them belonged to the same Sákhá. But it is probable that Saunaka was anterior to Kátyáyana. The time of Shadgurusishya is not known. Probably his work was composed towards the close of the twelfth century.† There are three Anukramanís for the Yajur-veda, two for the Sáma-veda, and one for the Atharva-veda.‡

The Rig-veda hymns are arranged according to two methods; the one having regard to the material bulk, and the other according to the authorship of the hymns.

* Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 101-120; and his History of Indian Literature, p. 25.

† Weber's Indische Studien, viii. p. 160, n.

‡ Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 215 ff.

According to the former the whole Sa*m*hitá consists of 8 *ashtakas* or octaves; these again are divided into 64 *adhyáyas* or lectures; these into 2006 *vargas* or sections; and the *vargas* into *riks* or verses, the actual number of which is 10,417; and some say that they amounted to 10, 616 or 10,622. According to the other method, the Sa*m*hitá is divided into 10 *mandalas* or circles; the *mandalas* into 85 *anuvákas* or lessons, these into 1017 súktas or hymns, besides eleven spurious ones, called Válakhilyas, and these again containing 10,580 and a half *riks*. The number of *padas* or words in this Sa*m*hitá is stated as being 153,826, and that of syllables is 432,000. The division of the *Ri*g-veda into Ma*nd*ala. Anuváka, and Súkta is more ancient than that into As*h*t*aka, Adhyáya, and Varga. The different parts of the *Ri*k are systematically arranged. There are three circumstances which guided the arrangement of the hymns in Ma*nd*alas: the first of these is the deity addressed, the second is the length of the hymns, and the third is their metre. The Nirukta mentions the *Ri*g-veda in several places and always with the designation of Da*s*atayya or the ten parts. And the same mode of designation is also found in the Práti*s*ákhya. Another instance of the systematic arrangement of the *mandalas* is contained in the A'prí hymns; and there are only ten A'prí-súktas attached to the *Ri*g-veda. These Súktas consist properly of eleven verses, each of which is addressed to a separate deity; and they were evidently composed for sacrificial purposes. They, however, throw light on the social condition of the Indo Aryans. The chief object of the A'prí hymns is not easy to explain. It is probable that the A'prí hymns were songs of reconciliation. *S*aunaka has given different

names of metres in an Anukrama*ní*. There are three Anukrama*ní*s to the Yajus. The Sáman has two different Anukrama*ní*s. For the Atharvan, there is only one Anukrama*ní* which is called the B*ri*hatsarvánukrama*ní*. The style of composition and the object of the different Anukrama*ní*s distinctly prove that they were framed at the close of the Vaidik age.*

There is a class of works commonly designated Pari*s*ish*t*as. They have Vaidik rituals and sacrifices for their subject-matter. It is said that most of the Pari*s*ish*t*as are the productions of *S*aunaka, &c. The Pari*s*ish*t*as represent a distinct period of Indian literature, and they are evidently later than the Sútras. Such literary works as the Pari*s*ish*t*as must be considered as the last outskirts of Vaidik literature. But still they are Vaidik in character. The Pari*s*ish*t*as, on the whole, are indited in simple and felicitous diction. They were originally eighteen in number, but that number has now considerably exceeded. The Chara*n*avyúha, though itself a Pari*s*ish*t*a, supports this statement. There are a number of Pari*s*ish*t*as for each of the Vedas. For the *Ri*g-veda there are only three, for the Sáma-veda the number is only six; and according to the Chara*n*avyúha there exist eighteen Pari*s*ish*t*as for the Yajur-veda. But Prof. Weber fixes their number at seventy-four. The object of the Pari*s*ish*t*as is to supply the deficiencies in the Sútras. They treat every thing in a popular and superficial manner. None of them were composed probably before the middle of the third century, B. C. Though the Pari*s*ish*t*as are not held in the same estimation as other Vaidik works, yet they contain very

* Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 215 ff.

interesting indications of the progress and decay of Hindú thought.

In former times the Vedas were the only source of knowledge and truth to the Hindús. No one then ventured to carry on any controversy, or hold or spread any doctrine unwarranted by them, it being universally assumed that all doctrines must be based on, and all controversies must end in, what was taught by the Vedas. It was considered the height of atheism to speak one word against them. Thus it was that the supreme and unerring authority of the Vedas having been established, all theological controversy was at once nipped in the bud. On the other hand, the study of the Vedas became gradually extinct; the understanding and explaining of their meanings became a hard task; the aims and objects of the *yajnas*, enjoined in them, were lost; and all religious works came to be encrusted with external ceremonies. In every country where religion becomes so dead and lifeless, religious changes begin to creep in. So did it fare with the Indian society. *S*ákya, a man of uncommon wisdom and courage, opposed the Vedas, exposed the futility and unreasonableness of such of their doctrines as the killing of animals, and proved them to be of human origin. Men were surprised at the first starting of these novel theories of *S*ákya. They had long ago relinquished the use of reason under the despotic government of the Vedas; but now again they entered the field of religious investigation, laid open by *S*ákya with renewed earnestness. But *S*ákya was not the first who opposed the selfish priesthood. Several centuries before him, Vi*s*vámitra of the royal caste refused to submit to the hierarchical pretensions of the Brahmans; and succeeded in

obtaining the privileges for which he determinately fought. King Janaka of Videha also followed him in the same track. The spread of Buddhism was simply owing to the fact that it aimed at social reforms, and more so to its pure and simple morality rather than to the strength of its doctrinal points. Buddhism was a recoil from intolerance and exclusiveness to tolerance and comprehensiveness. It was the result of a reaction from the tyranny of the Vaidik polity; and so it was the deadliest antagonist of that polity, though the one was the direct offspring and the other the parent.

*S*ákya Si*m*ha was the son of Máyádeví by *S*uddhodana, king of Kapilavástu, the capital of a petty principality, which was situated at the foot of the mountains of Nepal. He was born about 557 or 558 B. C. He belonged to the clan of the *S*ákyas, who were an immigrating tribe which adopted the institutions of the Aryans; and was, by his father's side, a descendant of Ikshváku, of the solar race.* He was, therefore, a prince of the Kshattriya caste. His mother, Máyádeví, died seven days after his birth. "He was reared in the palace of his father in all the accomplishments of a young prince of that period, and at sixteen years of age he was married to the princess Ya*s*odhará, the daughter of Da*nd*apá*n*i. From that time until his twenty-ninth year, he was wholly wrapped up in the pursuit of human pleasures, when a succession of incidents awakened in him a train of deep thought, which gradually led to a complete change in his own life, and which eventually affected the religious belief of one-half

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* Turnour's Maháwanso, p. 9.

of the human race. *S*ákya was twenty-nine years of age when he left his wife Yas*o*dhará and her infant son Ráhula, and quitted his native city of Kapilavástu to assume the garb of the ascetics."* *S*ákya received his first lessons from A'rá*d*a Kâláp, and next from Rudraka. The influence of these ascetics upon the life of *S*ákya was immense. He early showed a predilection for meditation and asceticism. The sight of an old man, a sickman, and a recluse awakened in his mind a sense of the sad realities of this mundane existence. How finally beatitude could be attained through the annihilation of pain was the problem which first engrossed the attention of the prince. This naturally led him to apply himself to the study of the different systems of philosophy; and at last to forego all the pleasures of the court of his royal father, and to undergo all sorts of privations and sufferings incident to the life of a mendicant. He exposed himself to the burning rays of the sun and fasted by day, and slept by night under the vault of heaven in the heavy rains of autumn, or the piercing cold of winter. Indeed, he lived for the attainment of an unknown quantity or the *sommum bonum* of existence. It was at Buddha Gayá that *S*ákya rested at the foot of a pipul tree, and devoted seven long years to profound meditation, subjecting his person to the most unheard of hardships; it was here that he is said to have repeatedly and successfully battled with the genius of sensuality-Mára, and accomplished the law. Now he assumed the title of Buddha, *the enlightened.* The spot where these protracted meditations were carried on, is still held in the

† Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes, pp. 20, 21 ff.

highest veneration. And in fact, Buddha Gayá was once considered as the holiest place on earth, and was studded with temples and monasteries.

"*S*ákya himself went through the school of the Brahmans. He performed their penances, he studied their philosophy, and he at last claimed the name of Buddha, or the enlightened, when he threw away the whole ceremonial, with its sacrifices, superstitions, penances, and castes, as worthless, and changed the complicated systems of philosophy into a short doctrine of salvation."*

"What was original and new in Buddha, was his changing a philosophical system into a practical doctrine; his taking the wisdom of the few, and coining as much of it as he thought genuine for the benefit of the many; his breaking with the traditional formalities of the past, and proclaiming for the first time, in spite of caste and creed, the equality of the rich and the poor, the foolish and the wise, the 'twice-born' and the outcast. Buddhism, as a religion, and as a political fact, was a reaction against Brahmanism, though it retained much of that more primitive form of faith and worship. Buddhism, in its historical growth, presupposes Brahmanism, and, however hostile the mutual relation of these two religions may have been at different periods of Indian history, it can be shown, without much difficulty, that the latter was but a natural consequence of the former."†

*S*ákya taught orally just as Socrates did. He left no written documents behind him; but after him a vast body of writings was compiled. The ten stern commandments which *S*ákya imposes on his disciples are the follo-

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* Müller's Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims, p. 14. † Ibid, p. 5.

wing : 1. Not to kill; 2. Not to steal; 3. Not to commit adultery; 4. Not to lie; 5. Not to get intoxicated; 6. To abstain from unseasonable meals; 7. To abstain from public spectacles; 8. To abstain from expensive dresses; 9. Not to have a large bed; 10. Not to receive silver or gold.* The principal features of Buddhism are its universal toleration and benevolence, its recognition of the common brotherhood of mankind. It inculcates the virtues of self-sacrifice, the bearing of injuries, resignation under misfortune, purity, truthfulness, gentleness of speech. humility, patience and courage. Buddhism knows of no priests and clergy. *S*ákya regarded men as divided into two classes, first, upásakas or 'laymen', secondly *S*rama*n*as or 'ascetics.' Again, there are Bhikshus or Parivrájakas, or "religious mendicants."

The various acts of Sákya, during his long ministry of forty-four years, are too numerous to detail, and are so obscured by a misty atmosphere of fable, that they can claim no attention from the antiquarian. The very existence of *S*ákya has been doubted. But we have not sufficient grounds to endorse this startling opinion. Viháras, chaityas, and pillars point out the city where he was born, the places where he sojourned, and the spot where he died.† *S*ákya entered Nirvá*n*a, when he was eighty years of age,‡ at Kusinagara, about 477 or 478 B. C.

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* Burnouf, Lotus de la bonne loi, p. 444; Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, Du Bouddhisme, p. 132.

† Asiatic Researches, xx. pp. 285-318; Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 138-359.

‡ Prof. Lassen holds that Buddha died about 544 or 543 B. C.—Indian Antiquities, ii. pp. 51-61. Compare Turnour's Introduction to Maháwanso, p. xxix.

The doctrines of such a man as *S*ákya naturally began to spread with the rapidity of fire borne by driving winds, and India became a spacious field for the waging of religious wars. Thus, within a short period, the Buddhists waxed very strong in this country; in the reign of A*s*oka, king of Magadha, the greater portion of it was converted to the religion of *S*ákya. The Brahmans again roused themselves and determined upon putting down the victorious heretics. With this view they went into every part of the country, stirred up the dormant spirit of the Hindú kings, and fell to religious debates with the Buddhists. In this momentous religious warfare *S*ankara A'cháryya, who flourished in the 8th or 9th century,* played a most conspicuous and glorious part. He alone as a hermit visited every part of India, defeated the Buddhists, one and all, with the sharp-edged acuteness of his intellect, his extraordinary wisdom and knowledge of the Vedas, and finally carried the palm of universal conquest. Thus, being borne down in debate by the Brahmans, and persecuted by kings, the Buddhists left India to spread their religion in other countries.† But though the Buddhists were themselves expelled from the country, their doctrines did not all follow them out of it; on the contrary, these doctrines began, day by day, to strike deep root. And the doctrines of *S*ákya were a refuge even for Brahmans, who were unable to master the extreme difficulties of their own complicated system.‡ There are to be found in the Veda no traces of the

* Colebrooke's Essays, i. 332.

† Troyer's Rádjatarangini, ii. p. 399.

‡ Burnouf's History of Indian Buddhism, p. 196.

doctrine of Máyá or illusion. Every thing is natural, and nothing transcendental. Our fathers never regarded the world as a phanto sensuous life as an unmitigated evil. But *S*ákya propounded and publicly taught the theory of Máya, and his life may be accepted as the best history and illustration of that doctrine. He laid stress upon the vanity of the world, and himself renounced all the pleasures of life as transcient and illusory, and assumed the life of a recluse. He brought about a transition from doctrines essentially carnal to a denial of the material world. Since then it has become the watch-word of our philosophers. The transcendental doctrine of Nirvá*n*a, or extinction, the cessation of existence, which *S*ákya had proclaimed with earnestness and positiveness, was carefully picked up and nursed by the Hindú philosophers. Buddhism if examined by its own sacred books, ca[illegible] be freed from the charge of Nihilism. The Teache Magadha was an atheist. Absolute atheism was doctrine. He denied an absolute eternal Supr Being. He explicitly ignored the existence of a s He also rigidly held up in his logia or his personal tea ing that the total extinction of being is the *summu bonum* of existence.*

* Dr. Nisikánta Chattopádhyáya, from a certain passage in the Milinda Pra*s*na, a Páli work, written shortly before the Christian era, has arrived at the conclusion that Nirvá*n*a is "a perception of the mind—the pure, joyful Nirvá*n*a, free from ignorance and evil desires." *Buddhism and Christianity*, p. 3. Whether *S*ákya himself used it in that sense, we take leave to doubt. There are certainly various authorities from which it cannot be understood to mean anything but the demolition of existence. Life was assumed to be

There is one more circumstance in connexion with the subject to which we wish to allude, before we close, and it has reference to the introduction of writing in ancient India. The greater portion of the vast ancient literature

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a precisely negative something. The duty of conquering desires called the eternal moral law was imagined to be the end of existence. The Buddhists would, therefore, welcome nothing, seek nothing. They confined their attention only to the negative aspect of life. Life, according to them, arises from absence of knowledge ; and life again is eternal, unless its progress is arrested by the total extinction of the seed of birth. Destroy the seed of production, and the result is *nothing*. Nirvá*na*, then, is the only remedy for escape.—*Burnouf's History of Buddhism*, p. 155 ; *Hardy's Eastern Monachism*, p. 308. "Bhixus ! as I say it does not exist with going and coming, *it is what is not existence* ; as I donot say it exists when there is death, it is not to be born ; this, then, is the end of suffering."—*Rockhill's Udánavarga*, c. xxvi. 27. From all we know of the Buddhist ontology we can safely express our conviction that Nirvá*na*, which forms the corner-stone of Buddhism, denotes final exit from the world of transmigration, which is equivalent to a relapse into the evils and miseries of the world, since the final deliverance of the soul is tantamount to a return to non-entity. "I" then becomes lost in the objective. With the Buddhists I is a non-entity ; but with the Brahmans I is Brahma. If we consider the matter closely we are more than ever convinced that such is the fundamental idea inherent in Nirvá*na*. Nirvá*na* is not a condition of existence, but nihilism. It is not "a state of subjective consciousness." It is an "absolute NOT," and not "a relative nothing ;" it is the entire cessation of being, personality, and consciousness. The soul, however, cannot live on negations ; it yearns for something positive. Certainly we are made to possess, and not to renounce ; certainly to have, and not to give up. After all, Renunciation is not religion. We only readily give up the transitory inorder that we may obtain the eternal. Perfection in the Buddhist sense consists in ceasing to exist, which is more agreement with the doctrine formulated in

of India existed in oral tradition only, and was never reduced to writing. No man of any intelligence can easily imagine a civilised people unacquainted with the art of writing. If we are to understand that Hindú

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the instruction of *S*ákya. His system commenced in atheism, and the result was nihilism. Nirvá*n*a, therefore, when carried to its logical result must be the entire cessation of existence. If Nirvá*n*a is not nihilism, it was not likely that *S*ákya's disciples would introduce that doctrine into the Abhidharma which contains his own teaching. In Nirvá*n*a there is no life; consciousness is lost in Nirvá*n*a. Nirvá*n*a is a doctrine of death, which declares human life—a painful struggle with Mára—to be utterly delusive. Nirvá*n*a is another name for the utter destruction of being. It is εὐθανασια. Death alone extricates the Buddhists from the world of delusions, from the evil destiny, and from the wheel of successive births. Such was *S*ákya's conception of Nirvá*n*a. The northern and the southern Buddhist nations deny the reality of the world; and according to them Nirvá*n*a means death, and not spiritual freedom, it is rescue from living and dying. It is said that Nirvá*n*a is acquired in this very life (*Dhammapada*, v. 89, 351, 352, 423.) That Nirvá*n*a can be attained in the present life, is doubtless used only metaphorically, the condition of Nirvá*n*a being taken for Nirvá*n*a itself. The term Nirvá*n*a as translated in the Chinese is *mie tu* "destruction and salvation" combined, and salvation consists only in extinction of individuality and absorption in the universe. The precise connotation of the word Nirvá*n*a we can best know from the etymology. Even a tyro in Sa*m*sk*ri*t knows that Nirvá*n*a means "blowing out," and not absorption in the Deity. The human soul when it reaches the acme of its full perfection, is blown out, to use the phraseology of the Buddhists, like a lamp, it is not, however, absorbed, as the Brahmans say, like a drop in the ocean. We cannot at all events accept the term Nirvá*n*a in the sense of an apotheosis of the human soul as it is taught in the Vedánta philosophy. It admits of question whether the term Nirvá*n*a was coined by *S*ákya. Not merely different schools, but one and the same among the Buddhists appears to pro-

civilisation could exist without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless to make reference to the arts, sciences, coins and measures, mentioned by Pánini in his Sútras. From one of his rules (iv. 1, 49) it may safely be concluded that he knew that writing was practised in countries beyond India. In that rule he teaches the formation of the word *Yavanání.* Both Kátyáyana and Patamjali define *Yavanání* as meaninng 'the writing of the *Yavanas.*' This implies that the word, as a tribal designation, was current in India long before Pánini's time. It was at least a familiar word to the Indo-Aryans in the beginning of the seventh century B. C., that is the date for Pánini. Pánini, however, did not use it in the sense of the Greeks, whether Asiatic or European. He certainly indicated by the term either the Persians or the Assyrians. The word *Yavana* occurs in Homer as Ἰάονες, which is no doubt connected with the Hebrew *Yáván.* There can be no doubt that at one time the Asiatic Greeks were the people most usually intended by the term, as is evident from an example quoted in the Kásiká commentary to Pánini's grammar, 'yavanáh sayáná bhunjate,' "the Yavanas eat lying down." But in later times it exclusively denoted the Arabs.* Weber† first supposed that *Yavanání* signified the writing of the Greeks or Semitics, but he subsequently took the word for the writing of the Greeks alone.‡ Müller understands by it only a variety

pound different theories as to the orthodox lexicography of this technical term. Childer's Pali Dictionary, *sub voce, nibhánam*; Goldstücker's Pánini, p. 226; and Burnouf's History of Buddhism, p. 514.

* Weber's Indische Studien, xiii. p. 308.

† Indische Studien, i. p. 144. ‡ Ibid, iv. p. 89.

of the Semitic alphabet.* M. Reinaud has given in his own way cogent reasons that *Yavanání* implies the writing of the Greeks. Benfey also understands by it 'Greek writing.'† *Yavanání,* no doubt, signified *lipi* or writing; and it denoted the writing of the Persians, probably the Cuneiform writing.‡

Müller says that in the grammar of Pá*n*ini there is not a single word which shows that the Hindús knew the art of writing even when that learned work was composed. This assertion is a most novel and startling one, in as much as it is hard to conceive that a grammar, like that of Pá*n*ini, could be elaborated as it is now, without the advantage of written letters and signs in the days of the author. Kátyáyana and Pata*m*jali not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pá*n*ini, but also affirm that the use he made of writing was one of the chief means which enabled him in building up the technical structure of his work.§ Any person that has ever looked into Pá*n*ini must know that written accents were indispensable for his terminology. Pá*n*ini uses accents as written signs. The *svarita* is the mark of an adhikára or heading rule,|| which showed a perpendicular line over the syllable; and the *anudátta* a horizontal line under it. But the syllable which is without any such marks is *udátta.* Pá*n*ini not unfrequently refers in his Sútras to the grammarians who had preceded him; which circumstance strengthens the argument

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* History of Ancient Sanskrit literature, p. 521.

† Benfey's Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft, p. 48.

‡ Goldstücker's Pá*n*ini, p 16.

§ Burnell's South Indian Palæography, p. 6.

|| Pá*n*ini, i. 3, 11 : स्वरितेनाधिकारः ।

in favor of the fact that writing was known even before Pá*n*ini's time. Pá*n*ini teaches the formation of the word *lipikara* (iii. 2, 21); which can be adduced in all fairness, to prove that the greatest Grammarian of India was acquainted with the art of writing. The root *likh,* to write (akshara vinyá*s*e) in his Dhátupá*th*a is also corroborative of the point at issue. The use of the term Pa*t*ala, meaning a division of Sa*m*skr*i*t works, is a further proof that writing was known in ancient India.

The authors of the Sútra works are found to apply the term pa*t*ala to the short chapters of their works. It is, however, wholly absurd to suppose that chapters can be so called in a traditional work. It is only possible in a written one. The word Pa*t*ala is synonymous with and strongly suggestive of *liber* and *βιβλος*.* The peculiarities of the Sútras are such that their composition and transmission was impossible without the use of letters. "There is no word, says Müller, 'for book, paper, ink, writing, &c., in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity."† But the absence of the proof of existence is no evidence of non-existence. The assertion of Müller clearly shows that he has overlooked some words which might have, on the contrary, removed all his doubts. He should have known that the object of the Vaidik hymns is not to tell us that the Indo-Aryans had reed and ink. It is most difficult to suppose that the human mind could ever be capable of composing in prose, volume after volume, on rituals, long series of commentaries, and elaborate works on theology, grammar, and lexicography without the help of written letters. According to Wolf prose com-

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* History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 524. † Ibid, 512.

position is an evident and safe proof of a written literature; as poetry without being committed to paper could be easily composed and transmitted from one generation to another traditionally; but to compose any thing in prose is impossible without the help of writing; and still more impossible to transmit it from one generation to another and preserve it in its entirety traditionally.* There are undoubtedly records of astronomical observations which could not have been taken without the knowledge of numerical figures. We cannot help believing by the exact definition of words, which appear in Pá*n*ini, such as var*na*, kára, ká*nd*a, pattra, sútra, adhyáya, grantha, &c., that the use of written letters was not unknown in ancient India. The meaning of the word *grantha* is to string together, signifying the old method of stringing together a number of palm leaves, which constituted the chief material of books, just as in German a volume is called *Band* from its being 'bound'. Prof. Weber holds that Pá*n*ini was perfectly acquainted with the art of writing; and the word *grantha,* which is frequently used by Pá*n*ini, alludes, according to its etymology, indisputably to written texts.† It answers etymologically to the Latin *textus,* as opposed to a traditional work. But Böhtlingk and Roth say, on the contrary, that the word *grantha* refers merely to composition. Indeed, it may mean a literary composition. *Varna* applies only to a written sign; and *kára* to an uttered sound, and also to a written sign. *Akshara* means syllable; and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kára* and *varna.* *Akshara* signifying 'syllable' first occurs in the Sa*m*hita

* Wolf's Prolegomena, lxx-lxxiii.

† Indische Studien, iv. p. 89.

of the Yajush. The word is also twice met with in the *Rik*; and there it signifies the measuring of speech (i. 164, 24 (47), and ix. 13, 3), and therefore may be used in the sense of 'syllable.' The Commentaries of Kátyáyana, Pata*m*jali and Kaiyya*t*a prove that Pá*n*ini's manner of defining an *adhikára* (i. 3, 11), or heading rule, would have been impossible without writing. Here we will draw the attention of the reader to two words, *úrdhva* and *údaya*. The former is used adverbially in the sense of *after*.* It seems to us that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in written books. The word *údaya* is synonymous with *úrdhva*. Pá*n*ini speaks of *repha*. Even Kátyáyana arguing from its root, concludes that it is nothing else than *ra* itself; and the letter *repha* is found to be used in the Práti*s*ákhyas. The use of *repha* is also a proof that Pá*n*ini was not ignorant of writing. *Grantha* occurs four times in the text of Pá*n*ini; and it is evident, beyond doubt, that *grantha* must mean a written or bound book. In ancient times, barks and leaves of particular trees were used as writing materials for want of paper. The Bhúrja-pattra and palm leaves were especially preferred. And even to this day Bhúrja-pattra and palm leaves are used for writing purposes. In Egypt this practice was also prevalent; and the very word paper is derived from 'papyrus' which means the bark of a reed.

The *S*rauta-sútra of A'*s*valáyana and the Práti*s*ákhya treatises of the different Vedas contain numerous statements which cannot be explained without admitting a knowledge of letters on the part of the authors of those

* Manu, ix. 77.

ancient works. Admitting that there is no allusion in the Vaidik hymns to writing, reading, paper, pen, or anything else connected with writing, this can never be a conclusive proof of the ignorance of the art of writing in ancient India. How were the gigantic works of ancient times divided into chapters and sections without any help of writing? How without a knowledge of numerals were the cattle marked on their ears in order to identify them? Pánini has a *sútra* (vi. 3, 115) in which he says that the owners of cattle were at his time in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, with signs of a *svastika* or magic figure of prosperity, a ladle, a pearl, &c., and also eight and five, which conclusively point to a knowledge of written letters or numerals at that period. Certainly then the use of writing became universal. Similarly the use of *lopa*, to express elision,* as opposed to the visibility of a letter, points to language as existing in a written and not exclusively spoken form. It is impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight. A letter which has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him. Every one must now understand that Pánini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time. It will not also be rash to hold that the Vedas were preserved in writing at or before Pánini's time. And it could be easily shown that Pánini must have seen written Vaidik texts.† Now, it is obvious that the ancient Hindús must have been acquainted with the art of writing. No

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* Pánini, i. 1, 60 : अदर्शनं लोपः ।

† Pánini, vii. 1, 76 : छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ।

question can be raised against the fact that the Hindús were acquainted with the art of writing before the time of Alexander ; and the expressions *likhita* and *likhápita** occur in the inscriptions of Piyadasi, which are, no doubt, of the third century B. C. However, we shall not exceed a reasonable limit by assigning the 13th century B. C. to the origin of writing in India.

What was the alphabet that Pánini and his predecessors used, is a question that can hardly be answered positively since there are not sufficient data to decide it. But it was by no means the Bactrian. The Bactrian is avowedly not full. Its vowels are few and at the same time not perfect, and even its consonants are deficient. In such a case the Bactrian could have been, by no means, originally adopted and used for a language most noted for its long and short vowels. To suppose that when a nation had once caught the idea of alphabetic writing, they would afterwards fail to devise a sufficient number of letters to meet their requirements, is quite absurd. It is also presumed that they must have got their alphabet from the Dravidians ; and from no other source. But there is nothing to prove that these people had a written literature at the time when the Aryans intruded on them and settled here. Not even now has a single Dravidian book been discovered, which may be considered to be of a pre-Vaidik era.† The Dravidians belong to the non-Aryan stock ; and long before the mighty tide of Aryan immigration they appear to have found their way into the

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* Manu, viii. 168.

† Caldwell's Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p, 83 ; Burnell's South Indian Palæography, p. 47.

Panjáb by the north-western passes. They were by no means a literary race, their ancient history is quite a blank ; and the little that we know of them is from the writings of the Indo-Aryans themselves. That when the Dravidians themselves had no alphabet of their own, the Indo-Aryans borrowed one from them, is so illogical that it scarcely calls for further notice. It is supposed by some that the Aryans did not originate an alphabet either before they migrated to India or after they settled here ; but they must have borrowed elsewhere. According to them the writing of the Indo-Aryans is of Semitic origin.* Assuming that they came to India before they had devised a system of alphabetic writing, it will not be paradoxcial to hazard an opinion (more especially when they are said to have left their primitive home in a far more advanced social state than their predecessors, who had long before separated from them, and gone forth in other directions,) that such a highly intellectual race as the Indo-Aryans would originate it in their adopted country, without borrowing it from their neighbours.

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* Benfey, Indien (in Ersch and Grüber's Encyclopædia, 1840), p. 254 ; Weber's Indische Skizzen (1856). p. 127 ff ; and Burnell's Elements of South Indian Palæography, p. 3 ff.

CHAPTER IV.

The Invasion of India and the Period of Occupation.

CENTRAL ASIA was probably the earliest point of ethnic movement, the homestead of the human family, the common abode of those races, which have hitherto guided the van of civilisation. The languages and mythologies of almost all the great historic races, however widely separated now, beckon to that country as their common breeding ground. Amidst the recesses of that focus of radiation and cradle of historic races, lie the materials of forty centuries of human history. When such dubious half-blind guides as mythology and tradition fail to penetrate into what lie in the pre-historic deeps, the languages can only with scientific certainty point out the way. So comparative Philology has been very appropriately called linguistic Palæontology. A study of the morphology and grammar of the Sa*m*sk*ri*t, especially in its oldest form, and of the Keltic, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Lettish-Slavonic, and Persian languages, shows us that all these languages broke off from some more ancient, and now extinct, parent language. It follows, therefore, as a necessary corollary that the nations, which vernacularly spoke those languages, were also descended from one and the same splendid stock ; and they once constituted one united people.*

There is, however, no need of entering into a com-

* Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, p. 43 ; Weber's Indische Skizzen, p. 7.

parison of a long string of words to prove this fact; though in many cases such comparisons are easy and simple. It is only with the aid of the laws which regulate the growth of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration that we are able to show the similarity between the Sa*m*sk*ri*t and the other Indo-European languages. Indeed, the relationship of those languages is not at first sight very clear; but words, unmistakeably the most dissimilar, have been by a process of induction and analogy demonstrated to be the same, and it is beyond question that those similitudes are not the results of accidental coincidences. The words which Sa*m*sk*ri*t has in common with the other sister tongues, are those which were in general use in the earliest stages of society when men were simple and uniform in their habits and ideas. Certainly, they are in point of fact the surviving representatives of some particular words in the primitive speech of which all the Aryan languages must have, in the course of time, grown out. Those words simply express number, the natural relations, the prepositions and particles, and the forms of inflection. Sa*m*sk*ri*t and Zand, notwithstanding a continual series of mutations, bear the closest resemblance to each other; whereas the other cognate languages exhibit a wide divergence from each other, simply because they must have diverged more and more, as centuries rolled on, from the original type than Sa*m*sk*ri*t and Zand under a variety of causes such as physical, social, political, and religious.

Affinity in language certainly affords some presumption of affinity in race; but it is not in languages alone that an affinity exists between the Indians, the Iranians, the Greeks, and the Romans; their mythologies, how

much soever they subsequently diverged from each other, also imply a community of origin, and, no doubt, they yield some data for ethnic deductions. But the languages and mythologies of the different tribes which separated from the parent stock at a very remote era, exhibit the least resemblance; while those of the other offshoots which continued to remain as one community in the ancient camping ground to a much later period, exhibit undeniable marks of close affinity to each other. At any rate, the cradle of the Indo-Aryans is to be sought for in some country external to India; and the facts which have been brought to light enable us to determine the region in which the whole Aryan family must have lived together.

The Aryans, in the childhood of their history, were savages; and lived upon the flesh of wild animals which they hunted.* Their notions were confined to themselves. They had not even huts to live in; they lived in the free air. They often formed themselves into small gangs either for protecting themselves from dangers to which they were naturally exposed; or, for hunting wild beasts for the purposes of food. They gradually passed to pastoral life; and they soon became attached to the cattle-fold. They had now an opportunity of cultivating sympathies; and new ties were thus developed. The cattle require extensive pasturage; and this led them to watch the vicissitudes of weather. Pastures now formed their territory and cattle their wealth. They soon acquired quiet and harmless habits, and became sober and diligent. They also became encircled by a large family. In this manner, a number of clans were formed; and

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 164, 43.

the gotra* system is founded on a division into such clans originating in consanguinity. The shepherd easily became the leader of his clan; while the hunter, as a mere adventurer, could not take the lead, because his influence over his gang was by no means permanent. They now carried on agriculture and developed it; and also appreciated permanent property in the land. The whole community was now divided into three classes of which one lived by hunting, another by tending cattle, and the third by agriculture. The hunters depended chiefly on meat; the shepherds and the agriculturists on the produce of fields, milk, and sometimes fleshmeat. The shepherds and hunters were more addicted to fermented beverages than the agriculturists. They constructed permanent habitations; and their diet was much improved. They occupied a region, richly watered and wooded, and highly metalliferous. It was cold enough to make them number their years by winters. Before their separation they knew the art of erecting houses and strongholds, of ploughing, of weaving and sewing, of making roads, and of building ships and vehicles. They trained most of the domestic animals; they wrought in the most useful metals, and were armed with swords,

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* *Gotra* originally implied a fold, and it had the sense of an enclosure by which a herd was kept from straying, and was also protected against thieves and rapacious animals (*Rig*-veda, iii. 39, 4). In course of time, the hurdles were converted into the walls of fortresses, and the hedges grew naturally into strongholds. And those who lived within the same walls were called a *gotra*, a tribe, etc. Tribes are mentioned in the Aitareya-bráhmana (iv. 25). The Zand-Avesta often refers to clans, tribes, and confederacy (xix. 52). Zoroaster himself was a leader of some tribes.—Yasna, xxxii. 14.

spears, knives and hatchets, either in the time of peace or war. They had musical instruments of large shells and reeds. They doggedly followed their leaders and kings, implicitly obeyed their laws; and above all had an intuition of God. When the horse was exalted to the rank of a demigod (i. 161), or when the weapons of warfare were addressed (vi. 75); we cannot but conclude that this feeling arose in such a society which was particularly influenced by the institution of chivalry. Chivalry is, in fact, the outgrowth of a desire of luxury; and the necessity of self-defence promotes the growth of feudalism. After thus passing through many vicissitudes of fortune they gradually formed themselves into a feudal community governed by the same religious and social institutions, and the same political organisation. Thus small states were formed; and in those states the kingly form of government was established and recognised. There is no doubt that the Indo-Aryans reached this stage of civilisation before they immigrated into India. But when they advanced from one stage of civilisation to another they did by no means give up all their former institutions and customs; nor did they discard the religious and social polity, to which they had once become attached. The sacrificial system and the myths of the gods distinctly corroborate our view of the four stages of Aryan civilisation.* The Indo-Aryans were men of noble and graceful bearing, handsome in features, and strong and active. A capacity for endurance was the striking characteristic of them. Their habits were at first simple and manly; but subsequently their priestcraft proved fatal to them,

* Compare Müller's Science of Language, ii. pp. 250 ff.

and their growth as a nation was hampered every step by the selfish prescriptions of a selfish priesthood; and so their civilisation soon became stagnant as it was inevitable.

The pre-emigration events as recorded in the *Rig*-veda, which again are confirmed by the Zand-Avesta and the Assyrian Inscriptions, and by a legend in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a (i. 2, 5, 1 ff), naturally point to the west of Asia for the primitive home of the Aryans; and also to the migratory route of the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans from "the West to the East." Our ancestors as well speak of their "old home," the *pratna okas*;* but cannot give its geography. In the *Rig*-veda an expression frequently occurs which might lead us to suppose that the Indo-Aryans still retained some reminiscences of their having at one time occupied a colder country.† And also in the allusions made to the northerly region of the Uttarakurus there may be some recollections of their early connexion with the countries to the other side of the stupendous Himálayas hoary with the snow of ages, which gird the north of India.‡ Ptolemy (Geogr. vi. 16) was also acquainted with Uttarakuru. According to Lassen the Ottorocorra (Ὀττοροκόρρα) of Ptolemy must be sought for to the east of Kashghar. There is again a tradition in the First Fargard of the Vendídád regarding the earliest abodes of the Aryan race. The description contained in it, is simply of the gradual diffusion, or rather of the first sixteen settlements of the Aryan

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 30, 9.

† Ibid i. 64, 14; v. 54, 15; vi. 10, 7; vi. 12, 6; vi. 13. 6; vi. 17,15.

‡ Aitareya-Bráhma*n*a, viii. 14; Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 218.

race.* The Airyana-vaéjó is first spoken of in it; but its locality is not mentioned, nor is its geography given. It means the Aryan residence; and we are to understand that it formed the original habitat of the Aryans. Certainly it was the first starting point, whence widened the geographical development of the race. We undoubtedly have in the tradition geographical descriptions of some real countries. Of the sixteen countries above alluded to nine have certainly existed; and we know their geographical position.† The designation of A'rya under which the Indo-Aryans are mentioned in the Vedas, indicates the country from which they came to India; and there is no longer room for doubt that that country was Airyana-vaéjó, which was a nursery of hardy and vigorous men. The Airyana-vaéjó, Arianum semen, could be localised in the basin of the Araxes, which was identified with the Oxus (Uksha in Sa*m*skr*i*t) in the time of Herodotus.‡ Lassen supposes that Airyana-vaéjó was on the western slopes of the Belurtag and the Mustag.§ However, the admission of the *pratna okas* on the part of our ancestors shows clearly that they came to India from beyond the Indus; and moreover the testimonies which have been brought to light point to Media (which was the third in importance of the ancient Asiatic monarchies, lying south and west of the Caspian Sea, and between that Sea and Assyria) as that home, the *officina gentium* which was sending off successive streams of colonists, whose descendants now

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* Bunsen's Egypt, iii. pp. 459-99.

† Samarkand, Merv, Balkh, Hari-rúd, Jarjan, Harút, Helmend, Raï, Panjáb.

‡ Garrez, Journal Asiatique, ii. p. 195 *seq.*

§ Indian Antiquities, i. pp. 526 f.

constitute the most civilised nations of the earth; and the migration of those swarms of men apparently belongs to a period far away from the range of documentary history. Afterwards the pressure of the Turanians from the east was probably the cause of the gradual dispersion of the whole family on all sides. They must have travelled away from their primeval abodes, at different times, and in different directions. The different tribes which separated earliest from the parent stock, and departed to distant regions lying far apart from each other, must have acquired new habits, new pursuits, new customs, new religious beliefs, and new modes of speech. But those two tribes i. e. the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans, which remained longest in their primeval abode, preserved more of their original manners and customs, language, religion and institutions, and modes of life. It is not, however, easy to define their routes; some of course went westward, others eastward.* Those that went westward were the first to break off from their pristine home; and these that came eastward were the last of the emigrants. Probably, after many defections in the course of their migration some of them may have remained behind, and established themselves in different countries. But those that came eastward had to encounter on their way the conflicts which are recorded in the Veda and in the Zand-Avesta; and this also receives confirmation from the temporary disappearance of Vish*n*u from them in their marches. Their marches were, no doubt, something like religious processions regularly worshipping and performing their ceremonial acts which were not of extreme

* Banerjea's Arian Witness, p. 111.

complexity, the rear and flank guards repeating hymns in the Vaidik seven metres* and the vanguard bearing the holy fire in the front.†

After crossing the narrow passes of the Hindukush, the eastern branch first settled on the north-western frontiers of India, in the Panjáb,‡ and even beyond the Panjáb on the Kubhá or κωφῆν.§ The earliest among the hymns of the *Rig*-veda disclose the race in Kabulistan, the later ones bring them as far as the Ganges. But it appears that the earlier arrivals differed from the later. Different leaders acquired different parts of the Panjáb (*Rig*-veda, i. 51) ; and so in different localities centres of Aryan supremacy were established. When a town was captured Aryan institutions were established and Aryan gods were worshipped. In the Panjáb they continued to form one community for a considerable period ;‖ and they lived on equal terms so far as the worship of the Sun and Fire and the elements of Nature was concerned. They had also the primitive institution of sacrifices ; though they differed among themselves as to their scope and the mode of conducting them. But one party insisted on the actual completion of the sacrifice as the *Vashat* ; while the other would not allow it. Nor would the latter sanction even the use of the Soma drink by which the former set store.¶ Those among them who were devoted

* *Rig*-veda, i. 22, 13.

† Muir's Sanskrit Texts, iv. p. 122.

‡ Pánini calls the Panjáb Báhíka (iv. 2, 117. and v. 3, 114).

§ Weber's Indische Studien, iv. p. 379, n.

‖ Müller's Last Results of the Persian Researches, p. 113 ; and his Lectures on the Science of Language, i. p. 235.

¶ Yasna, xxxii. 3 ; xlviii. 10 ; see also Haug's Essays, p. 291.

exclusively to agriculture worshipped their gods with simple vegetable oblations; and those who tended flocks in addition to their agricultural pursuits preferred flesh-meat, butter, and fermented soma liquor. There were also some principal doctrinal differences between both the parties; and only such religious differences separated the one from the other.* There are certainly historical allusions to the schism both in the Veda and in the Avesta. But according to Haug the causes of the schism were not only of a religious but also of a social and political nature.† So strong was the feeling of the Persa-Aryans against the Indo-Aryans on account of the schism that in the confession of faith it has been made binding on the follower of *Zoroaster*, openly to declare: "I profess myself as a Mazdayasnian, a follower of Zoroaster, an adversary of the Daévas, a worshipper of Ahura."‡ And again, the Mazdayasnian faith is distinctly spoken of as "ví Daévó"—against the Devas;§ and even the Vendídád or the Zoroastrian scripture itself is said to be a corruption of ví-daévó-dátem, "what is given against the Devas." It is true, the Vaidik gods are mentioned by name in the Zand-Avesta; but some as demons and others as angels.|| There is also a great similarity as to the number of divine beings to be found in both the *Rig*-veda and the Zand-Avesta.¶ However, the names of the gods were changed. The words Deva and

* Bleeck, Introduction to the Avesta, p. x.; Müller's Last Results of the Persian Researches, p. 112; and his Chips from a German Workshop, i. p. 83,

† Haug's Essays, p. 292.

‡ Yasna, i. 65.

§ Yasna, xii. 1.

|| Vendídád, xix. 43.

¶ Yasna, i. 10

Asura were used by both at one time as implying God; but when the canker of religious differences burst forth among them—the one party took Deva to mean god and Ahura a demon; and the other Asura a god and Deva a demon. Under these circumstances they could not live together as one fraternity. The Persa-Aryans, however, retained more of the spiritual element than the Indo-Aryans; though they never protested against nature-worship. Latterly both the parties formed again two other branches, the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans. Now each branch bore feelings of bitterness against the other; and many were the sanguinary conflicts which took place between them. It also appears from the *Rig*-veda that Ish*tá*sva (king of Bactria) or the Sa*m*skr*i*t transliteration of Víshtáspa of the Zand-Avesta, who was the patron of Zoroaster* and the promoter of his doctrines, had contemplated the forcible imposition of his prophet's teaching on all around him by fire and sword.† But the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans refused manfully to submit to such religious intolerance; and they strenuously defended their own religion. "What can Ish*tá*sva," said they, "what can Ish*t*arasmi, rulers of the world as they are, do against our protecting men?"‡

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* In the *Rig*-veda (vii. 37, 7) this name appears in the corrupt form of Jaradash*t*i. Plato calls Zoroaster the son of Oromazes. (Alc. i. p. 122, *a.*) This name of Oromazes is clearly meant for Ahuró Mazdáo. Zoroaster was a contemporary of Moses; but Pliny makes him a predecessor by many thousand years (Hist. Nat. xxx. 2). Now, M. Darmsteter has attempted to transform Zoroaster into a god of light!

† Farvardan-yast, xiii. 99.

‡ *Rig*-veda, i. 122, 13.

As to who this Víshtáspa was we are still in the dark; but he must have been different from the father of Darius, as he was a more ancient character.

Bh*ri*gu originated pyro-cultus. (*Rig*-veda, i. 58, 6; i. 60, 1; x. 122, 5), and promoted the celebration of sacrificial ceremonies in the world at large; and there can be no doubt that our ancestors, who composed the eastern branch of the Aryan race, were originally Fire-worshippers (i. 1, 2). They also recognised two principles, one the supreme principle of Good and the other the principle of Evil, which constitute dualism proper.* In the Zand-Avesta the supreme principle of Good is called Ahuró-Mazdáo, which means the *all-knowing* or *wise Lord.* This name precisely corresponds with Asura-pracheta (iv. 53, 1) and Asura-vi*s*vaveda (viii. 42, 1)–the titles under which Varu*n*a appears in the *Rig*-veda. And Angró-mainyush,–the Daévanam daévó–the deity of theDevas or the spirit of Evil or Sin in the Zand-Avesta, is also identical with Ni*ri*ti (i. 24, 9) of the Veda.† But here it should be candidly stated that, according to the Zand-Avesta, Ahuró-Mazdáo and Angró-mainyush are uncreated and independent principles; while, according to the Veda, Ni*ri*ti is not "an uncreate eternal subtance." These principles were constantly at war with each other. Whatever good work Ahuró-Mazdáo sought to do, Angró-mainyush endeavoured to blast. Ahuró-Mazdáo is "the creator of life, the earthly and the spi-

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* Prof. Williams holds a contrary opinion. He says that "this dualistic principle is foreign to the Veda."–Indian Wisdom, p. xix.

† Aristotle knew not only Oromasdes as the good, but also Areimanios as the evil spirit.–Diogenes Lærtius, I. 8.

ritual ;" he has made "the celestial bodies," "earth, water, and trees," "all good creatures," and "all good, true things." He is "good, holy, pure, true," "the Holy God," the "Holiest," "the essence of truth," "the father of all truth," "the best being of all," "the master of purity." He is "supremely happy," possessing every blessing, "health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality." From him comes all good to man ; on the righteous he bestows earthly advantages as well as precious spiritual gifts, truth, devotion, "the good mind," and everlasting happiness ; and as he rewards the good so he punishes the bad. Angró-mainyush introduced war, sickness, famine, poverty, evil, and suffering of all kinds into the regions which Ahuró-Mazdáo sought to render happy.

The Ahura of the Zand-Avesta and the Varu*n*a of the Veda are both identical. As Mitra and Varu*n*a are frequently linked together in the *Ri*g-veda, so Ahura and Mithra are coupled together in the Zand-Avesta.* In the Assyrian empire Asur was an appellative for God ; and the eastern branch may have accepted the term from the Assyrians.† In the older portions of the *Ri*g-veda,

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* Ya*s*na, i. 34 ; iii. 48 ; iv. 39, vi. 36.

† The term *asura* stands for gods, goddesses, and priests in some portions of the *Ri*g-veda ; but in other portions it is found in the sense of ungodly demons, ghastly giants. This word, however, is variously explained by Sáya*n*áchárya in different places, i. e. "the expeller of enemies," "giver of breath," "giver of strength," "taker away of breath," "strong," "powerful, "evil spirit," etc. Thus it appears that he met with no difficulty in interpreting the term in the demoniacal sense ; but he was on the horns of a dilemma when he had to explain it in a sacred sense. In all modern Sa*m*sk*ri*t literature it simply means a demon, an enemy of the gods. But it

the appellative is used in as good a sense as in the Zand-Avesta; and so we find the Maruts (i. 64, 2), Dyaus (i. 131, 1) Indra (i. 54, 3), Varu*n*a (ii. 27, 10), Tvash*tri* (i. 110, 3), Agni (v. 12,1), Váyu (v. 42, 1), Púshan (v. 51, 11), Savit*ri* (v. 49, 2), Parjanya (v. 63, 3, 7), and other gods termed or accosted as Asuras. But in these portions the epithet is also used, though only twice, in a bad sense (ii. 32, 4; vii. 99, 5) i. e. evil spirits or obstructors of religious rites and ceremonies. The term Asura, in its bad sense, was either intended for the Assyrians as a nation or for the intolerant Zoroastrians. And thus the contradictory senses of the name can only be accounted for by the fact that either because there

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is quite inappropriate to the sense, which it does not generally bear in the older hymns, where it is used as a term applicable to the gods themselves. It was to the Indo-Aryans a term of reverence; and they must have used it in that sense long before their immigration into India. The interpretation suggested by Sáya*n*áchárya of the term as a rider about the gods and goddesses, is, therefore, quite artificial and unsatisfactory. Prof. Wilson following such an ungrammatical and childish interpretation, was obliged to remark that "it would scarcely be decorous to call Varu*n*a an asura" (*Rig-veda*, i. p. 64.) The word was evidently got from the Assyrians. While the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans lived together and were on good terms with the Assyrians, they adopted and used the word for God. After a time the eastern branch fell out, and the term accordingly came to be used in a bad sense. The use of the word in a sacred sense by both the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans cannot be accounted for unless we allow the Indo-Aryan documents to be interpreted with trans-Indus light. Indeed, the key to the proper understanding of the term is found in the Assyrian Inscriptions, where it is used as a household word, indicaing a god, a great god, and the king of gods.—Norris's Assyrian Dictionary, pp. 405, 462, and 643.

arose the *odium theologicum* between the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans, or because the Indo-Aryans had national antipathy for they had the bitter recollections of the barbarous atrocities which the Assyrian kings boastingly practised against them.*

They stole into India through the same gorges that now connect and hold apart India and Afghanishtan, permeating it all with their influence and institutions. They, however, marched *en masse*, now guided by a powerful bard, now impelled by a valorous leader, each having a *ketu* or banner of his own (i. 103, 1). They must have penetrated into India not all at once, but in successive waves of immigration. The Indo-Aryans, after the Persa-Aryans had separated from them, and migrated westward to Arachosia (Ghajni) and Persia,† (in this period the Aryan mind blended with the Semitic, and no doubt it was the most momentous period in their history which surely opened another stage of religious thought) gradually spread towards the east, beyond the Sarasvatí, and over Hindustan as far as the Ganges ;‡ and long afterwards diffused themselves to the south of the peninsula. How long the Indo-Aryans took to compass the distance between the Indus and the Sarasvatí, can hardly be determined. At any rate, the transit must have been a slow one. We can, however, trace step by step, their distribution throughout India. The stream of immigration progressed along the banks of the Yamuná and the Ganges. In course of time the whole country as far as Bengal

* Banerjea's Essays, p. 20.

† Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, i. p. 235.

‡ Weber's Indische Studien, ii. p. 20.

was in the full splendour of the Brahmanical legislation. We hear no longer in the Bráhma*n*a period of the seven rivers of the Panjáb, whose banks were the first homes of the Indo-Aryans. The tribes which threw colonies from the land of the seven rivers to the far east were called Náchyas and Apáchyas; their kings assumed the title of *Svarát*. The Uttarakurus and the Uttara Madras lived among the valleys of the Himálayas. Of course, long centuries must have elapsed before the eastern colonies were firmly established on the confines of Bengal. The vast forests of the south were yet peopled by the aborigines who were called *Satvas*. To the furthest east lived the Videhas, the Ká*s*is, and the Ko*s*alas. Their rulers had the name of *Samráj*. Along the valley of the Ganges, lived the powerful tribes of the Kurus and the Panchálas, and the Va*s*as and the U*s*ínaras. Many centuries were of course required to subjugate the wild and vigorous aborigines, to break down their residences, and to bring them over to the Vaidik polity. The Indo-Aryans impressed their polity so strongly upon every corner of their settlement that the whole presented but one type. They so isolated themselves from their primitive home as to have lost in a very short time all sympathy for their cousins. And after they had got a home in India, they began to ignore all trans-Indus events, and to declare themselves as the autochthones of Indian soil.* In India they must have established themselves by household groups, each occupying a specifically assigned area within the boundaries of which the intruders were only allowed to settle upon terms of subjection.

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* Banerjea's Arian Witness, pp. 30, 41.

Though bound together by the feelings of a common descent, language, and religion, and by their joint hostility to the aborigines, they were divided into clans quite separate from one another. They were now communities of free men. In such a state the position of an individual member was as the head of a family and the master of wealth.* Now they stood in constant alarm of the aborigines; and they were often engaged in hostilities with them, and even with the members of their own community, simply with a view to be enriched with the booty.† They were active and full of hope; and they carried on their wars against the aborigines with great zest. The country they now occupied was partly cultivated, and partly covered with forests. And it was no doubt divided into numerous principalities,‡ and peopled by various tribes,§ philologically and religiously allied with one another. The history of their defeat and ultimate subjugation by the Indo-Aryans, their admission into the pale of Aryan society, their revival under Buddhism, and their suppression during the Brahmanical revival, is, no doubt, coeval with the history of the Indo-Aryans.

At such primitive times when the Indo-Aryans‖ were all a pastoral and agricultural people, there could exist no distinct caste of cultivators of the earth; when they

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* Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 25.

† *Rig*-veda, i. 73, 5.

‡ Wilson's *Rig*-veda, i. p. xliii.

§ Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, pp. 131 ff.

‖ The Zand Airya. A'rya means Vaisya. See Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitâ, xxvi. 2. Compare Lá*t*yâyana-sútra, iv. 3, 6. Pá*n*ini distinctly ascribes to A'rya the meaning of Vai*s*ya (iii. 1, 103.)

were all warriors there could be no military caste; and when each member of the community had the privilege to approach the gods with his own prayers and offerings there could be no sacerdotal order. Then the castes had no existence. But during the period of chivalry the caste system began to be established by a wily priesthood and recognised by the people at large. It appears that the institution of caste was introduced after the Brahmans had obtained their social ascendency in the body politic. At the time when the Indo-Aryans left their original home, and set foot on Indian soil, they naturally came into contact with the Dasyus (the Daqyus of the Pársi sacred writings) or the aborigines of India.* These primitive dwellers in the land consisted of many tribes; and, as without a race-name, they are called the aborigines. These people, forming the Turanian branch of the human family, differed widely from the Indo-Aryans, in their physical appearance and colour, language and manners.† The Dasyus were *linga* worshippers.‡ They gave offerings and spent their substance in the service of *S*isnadeva.§ Under such divergence, there was no ground for the establishment or conservation of feelings of amity and unity between the classes. Consequently, the Indo-Aryans and the Dasyus frequently found themselves in the bitterest conflict. The former, however, always justified their conduct towards the latter because they were irreligious, and because they

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* Wilson's India Three Thousand Years Ago, p. 19.

† Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, pp. 114 f.

‡ Ibid, p. 161.

§ *Rig*-veda, vii. 21, 5.

worshipped no Vaidik gods. The Indo-Aryans, as they were naturally of fair complexion, of majestic appearance, civilised, and much more advanced in thought, looked down upon the aborigines who were of beastly and hence unsightly appearance. One Vaidik poet speaks of them as noseless. In the Veda, the aborigines are frequently called Dasyus (enemies) or Dásas (slaves) ;* and the Indo-Aryans, with a certain degree of hatred, called them *tvacham krishnám*† or the "black skin." From the Veda, we obtain sufficient evidence of there having been a wide difference and natural enmity between them ; and the Indo-Aryans are found scornfully to apply to the Dasyus the terms of *avrata* or without rites (vi. 14, 3), *apavrata* or irreligious (v. 42, 9), *ayajyu* or not sacrificing (i. 131, 4), *abrahma* or prayerless (iv. 16, 9), *anindra* or without Indra (i. 133, 1), etc. It will, however, be seen that these scornful epithets are not only applicable to the aboriginal tribes ; but, in some places, they probably refer also to Aryan schismatics. The main difference of course consisted in colour and feature‡ ; and hence *varna* or colour gradually came to imply race or caste.§ Caste then was purely an ethnological institution.‖ The authors of the hymns extolled the gods, because they slew, subjected, and scattered the "black skin," and protected the Aryan colour. In the Veda varna appears in

* *Rig*-veda, i. 103, 3 ; i. 117, 21 ; vi. 25, 2, 3 ; vi. 33, 3 ; vi. 60, 6 ; vii. 83, 1 ; x. 38, 3 ; x. 49, 3 ; x. 86, 19 ; x. 102, 3 ; x. 83, 1.

† *Rig*-veda, i. 130, 8.

‡ Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, p. 113.

§ Weber's Indische Studien, x. pp. 4, 10.

‖ *Rig*-veda, iii. 34, 9.

the sense of colour (i. 73, 7; i. 113, 2), of bright colour or light (iii. 34. 5), and of race, the white and the dark (ii. 12, 4; iii. 34, 8, 9).

In several places of the *Rig*-veda, five classes are generally spoken of such as *pancha-krishtayah, pancha-kshitayah, pancha-charshanayah, pancha-janáh, pancha-bhúma,* and *pancha-játá*.* There is no clue to be found for the better understanding of what tribal divisions or social classifications these classes implied. Mankind, in a collective sense, are said to be distinguished into five classes. Sáyana, following the received tradition of his own time, explains these terms as denoting the four castes with the Nishádas or the aborigines for a fifth. Yáska, in his Nirukta (iii. 8), referring to the opinions of older schools, says that these five classes of beings are the *Gandharvas*, *Pitris*, *Devas*, *Asuras*, and *Rakshasas*; and according to some the four castes, and the aborigines or Nishádas. But these meanings seem quite immaterial, and are merely imaginary.† When the five classes are designated by such a one as *Pancha-bhúma*, it appears that these classifications arose possibly from the different localities the Indo-Aryans first occupied after their advent to India. The authors of the hymns of the *Rig*-veda regarded Manu as the common progenitor of the whole of the Aryan people, either the priests or the chiefs, or those that formed the bulk of the population.‡ This notion of descent from one common father overthrows

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* *Rig*-veda, iv. 2, 5; vi. 61, 12; vii. 69, 2; vii. 97, 1; viii. 52, 7. See also Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, pp. 118 ff.

† Lassen's Indian Antiquities, i. p. 796.

‡ *Rig*-veda, i. 80, 16; i. 114, 2; ii. 33, 13; viii. 52, 1; viii. 30, 3.

altogether the supposition that the Aryan nation originally consisted of four different castes.

However, from the mass of the population were formed, in course of time, two privileged classes, a priesthood and an aristocracy. But they meant only such persons whose professions were either sacerdotal or military; as any person could then be either a Brahman or a Kshattriya according to his profession. And after the population had greatly multiplied a division of labour soon became a necessity. Thus arose the idea of organising the community into classes, and of assigning to them separate occupations, which are evidently politic in all stages of civilisation; since no society can exist without religion, government, commerce, and mechanical labour. Society naturally expects that some of its members should perform the religious rites and ceremonies for the rest; some should protect it from enemies; some should till lands, and supply the necessaries of life; and some should do menial services. Doubtless, the heredity and fixity of a profession to a particular class was gradually brought about. The system of caste reflected the national life. The more contemplative among them betook themselves to the worship of the gods, and to the performance of rites and ceremonies at the holy altars; the more powerful class held rule over the rest; and the majority of the population followed various occupations; while the aborigines incorporated themselves in the Indo-Aryan community either as slaves* or as handicraftsmen. The priesthood was formed only from the

* *Riġ*-veda, viii. 46, 32; Válkhilya 8, 3. See also Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, p. 107.

employment by the chiefs of individuals known for their rhythmical faculty, knowledge of sacred things, and sanctity, to officiate at the worship of the gods; and the aristocracy was formed from the class of petty kings. The families of those kings who held sway over single tribes came gradually to occupy a more and more prominent position in the larger kingdoms which were of necessity founded; and thus the military caste was formed. And the people proper, the *visas*, formed the third caste. The term Vai*s*ya does not occur in any other hymns of the *Ri*g-veda, except in the Purusha-súkta; and only once in the Atharvan (v. 17, 9). The Vai*s*yas formed the mass of the people; the word being derived from vi*s* which means the general community.* But the *S*údras were a mixed body, partly composed of the aborigines themselves, partly of those Aryans who had settled earlier in India, and partly of those recruits from the later Aryan emigrants who threw off the Brahmanical yoke.† The *S*údras formed an important element and had a *locus standi* in the community as the Brahmans themselves. Certainly, they could not have been so completely incorporated into the body politic, if they had not been of the same blood with the Brahmans. They were undoubtedly allowed to attend the ceremonies; and even they took an active part on such occasions. The three Aryan castes are happily identified with Agni, Indra, and the Vi*s*vedevá*h* respectively;‡

* St. Martin's Géographie du Veda, p. 84.

† Roth's Literature and History of the Veda, p. 117; Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 18.

‡ Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, vii. 1, 1, 45; compare *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, ii. 4, 3, 6, 7; Tá*nd*ya-bráhma*n*a, vi. 1, 6-11. See also Weber's Indische Studien, x. pp. 8, 26.

and this identification was natural for Agni is like the priest, Indra the valiant hero, and the Visvedeváh a class of inferior deities such as are to be identified with the common people. Prajápati created from his mouth the Brahman together with Agni; from his arms the Rájanya together with Indra; and from the middle part of his body the Vaisya together with the Visvedeváh. The *Rig* and the Atharva-veda throw an immense blaze of light on the relations of the different classes of Indian society to one another at the time when they were formed. From the later hymns of the *Rig*-veda we learn that the priesthood had already become a profession; but there are also other indications which warrant the conclusion that there was no distinction of profession. However, there are to be found numerous references in all parts of the hymn-collection to a variety of ranks, classes, and professions; though not any stringent regulations about them. The three highest castes stood in a more intimate relation to one another either in point of descent or culture, than any of them did to the fourth.

There were small kingdoms founded by each leader; who led the different bands of Aryans during the time of their invasion of India. The political institutions of those days resembled those of the Homeric Greeks. The names for king meant father of the house, and headman of the tribe. Each state was governed by a king, whose office was often hereditary; but also sometimes elective.* His title of Vispati, which literally means "lord of the settlers," survives in the old Persian Vispati, and as the

* Aitareya-bráhmana, i. 14; Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, p. 162.

Lithuanian Wiéz-patis is Central Europe at this day. Kings are mentioned in the hymns;* and rulers or governors under the titles of púrapati† and grámaní‡ are also alluded to. The kings and other rulers held powers subject to certain obligations towards a monarch (i. 25, 10; ii. 28, 6; v. 85, 1; vi. 68, 9). The existence of the office of kings, and the imposition of taxes (i. 70, 5; x. 173, 6), or contributions from the people for the maintenance of kingdoms certainly imply a settled state of government. The government was good;§ and even the village system (vi. 2)|| existed during that period. We meet with particular mention, not only of kings, but of royal messengers (ii. 39, 1), envoys (ii. 127, 9), and heralds (ii. 127, 10). The kings sent ambassadors to one another (i. 71, 4); and also employed spies. The description of Varu*n*a in i. 25, 10, 13, as sitting in his house, arrayed in golden mail or raiment, surrounded by his messengers, and exercising sovereign powers, could only be suggested by the ceremonial of the court of a contemporary king. Meetings of princes are alluded to (x. 97, 6). The princes dressed like Kshattriyas, wore neck-ornaments and ear-rings (v. 54, 11), were always surrounded by faithful friends (i. 73, 3); and took delight in listening to the bards (i. 27, 12). The kings often made princely presents to the bards, who had to live chiefly on their bounty. The bards call the kings, whose exploits they celebrate, "pious men who fulfil their duty."¶ The kings

* *Rig*-veda, i. 40, 8; i. 126, 1; iii. 43, 5; v. 37, 4; x. 33, 4.

† Ibid, i. 173, 10. ‡ Ibid, x. 62, 11. § Ibid, i. 173.

|| Compare Pata*m*jali's Mahábháshya, i. 1, 7.

¶ Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, pp. 168 f.

had their retinues (iv. 4, 1). The administration of justice, both civil and criminal, was recognised to be one of the principal kingly functions; and was as such performed by the sovereign himself. There were also halls of justice (ii. 124, 7); and the complicated law of inheritance (iii. 31, 1-2) was to a certain extent in force; and our ancestors had conceptions of the rights of property and definite guarantees for their preservation, had formalities for transactions of exchange and sale (iii. 24, 9), for payment of wages, and for the administration of oath. (A. V. iv. 16). The right of primogeniture was established; and the eldest son, as a rule, succeeded to the estate of his deceased father. It was binding upon him to get his sister married and to see that she was properly settled in life. On failure of lineal male issue the son or even the grandson of a daughter was equally entitled to take his maternal grand-father's property; while valuable gifts were bestowed on his father. Sometimes a father settled a portion of his wealth on a grown-up son (iii. 31). A legitimate son of the body held the first rank. Next to him ranked the son of an *appointed* daughter (i. 31). The son of a widow by her husband's brother (x. 40), the sons of widows, the sons given by the parents, the sons bought, and the sons self-given (Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, 3, 5, 2) must have had social recognition. The laws of contract were developed. Debts and debtors are even adverted to (ii. 24, 13; ii. 28, 9); and sometimes exorbitant interest was charged (iii. 53, 14). The tricks of trade were also known in those days. What were the criminal laws in those days we can hardly say for there are to be found no indications of them in the Vedas; but there is a remarkable prayer for transporta-

tion, "Do thou (Agni), whose countenance is turned to all sides, send off our adversaries, as if in a ship to the opposite shore."*

Their chief possessions were the flocks and herds; and they by no means neglected the cultivation of the earth. There is a remarkable hymn which was used at the commencement of the ploughing season.† Cultivated and fertile lands (iii. 41, 6; iv. 20, 1) and fertile water-courses are alluded to;‡ and the irrigation of lands under cultivation is also recommended (ii. 122, 6; vii. 49, 2). They sunk wells (i. 30, 2), and dug channels (ii. 28, 5). They measured their fields with rods (i. 110, 5). Oxen ploughed their fields (vi. 20, 19); and the articles of food were brought home in waggons and carts. We read of a husbandman repeatedly ploughing the earth for barley (i. 23, 15). There were also granaries (ii. 14, 11).

They had pasturage (i. 67, 3); and domesticated the cow, the sheep, the goat, the horse, and the dog. And the zoology of the *Rig*-veda comprises a great many other animals, such as lions, tigers, bears, wolves, elephants, oxes, camels, deers, antelopes, hogs, asses, rams, bulls, serpents, mosquitoes, bees, mares, scorpions, worms, snakes, fishes, crocodiles, porpoises, apes, owls, boars, buffaloes, jackals, mices, foxes, frogs, rats, and different kinds of birds, *i. e.* peacocks, eagles, pigeons, vultures, ducks, swans, kites, crows, quails, falcons, etc.

The community consisted of the rich and the poor.§ The rich were no doubt over-bearing (i. 145, 2); and the

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 97, 7-8. † Ibid, iv. 57.

‡ *Rig*-veda, iii. 45, 3; x. 43, 7.

§ Ibid, x. 117.

middle classes pursued their trades and lived in comfort. But the lower classes lived from hand to mouth (iv. 25, 8). Labor was valued (i. 79, 1); and the spirit of adventure and enterprise was also appreciated (i. 17, 31). The various occupations pursued were those of priests, poets, physicians, barbers, wood-cutters, carpenters, goldsmiths, black-smiths, female grinders of corn, carriage builders, workers in wood and metal, manufacturers of weapons of war and other sharp-edged implements, boat and ship builders, rope makers, and butchers. The bhisty with his skin brought them water;* and the groom rubbed down their horses (ii. 135, 5).

They thought of the means of transit from the earliest times. They had good and great roads (i. 116, 20), suitable and little paths (i. 58, 1; iv. 16, 3) easy to be traversed in mountainous regions and inaccessible places. At the resting-places on the road refreshments were always kept ready (ii. 166, 9). The rivers for the purposes of intercommunication were amply used.† They navigated in oared boats (ii. 131, 2) and ferries.‡ They were a maritime and mercantile nation; sea-going ships and navigation in the open sea were familiar to them. They were not content with internal trade; they also undertook sea-voyages as we read of merchants sailing for gain.§ Metal money was in use; *nishkas* being mentioned.|| The use of money in trade may not have

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* Wilson's *Rig*-veda, ii. p. 28.

† *Rig*-veda, i. 140, 12. ‡ Ibid, ii. 37. § Ibid, i. 56, 2.

|| Ibid, i. 126; vii. 56, 13. A *nishka* was a gold currency. According to Manu (vii. 134) a *nishka* was a weight of gold equal to four *suvarnas*. Yáska, in his Nirukta, p. 13, quotes from the Veda, eighteen different words, which convey the sense of metallic money.

been unknown, for "merchants desirous of gain" are cited in the *Rik*, as sending their ships to the sea.* They were not only familiar with the oceans; but sometimes must have engaged in naval expeditions.† And there is mention made of a naval expedition under Bhujyu, the son of Tugra, against a foreign island, which was frustrated by shipwreck. (i. 116, 3—5).

There were cities (púr) as distinct from villages (gráma.)‡ We read of "cities of stone," of "cities made of iron,"§ and of cities with a hundred surrounding walls,|| which convey the idea of forts consisting of a series of concentric walls. When we read of iron cities we should take them as of true masonry architecture and of more durable material than wattle and mud.

The Indo-Aryans were evidently a building race. They knew and practised the art of building substantial edifices with bricks, or stones. They did not as a rule dwell in thatched huts and mud houses. They lived in permanent habitations; and their houses were roofed, and had windows and doors (i. 113, 4). Generally their houses were guarded by dogs.¶ Bricks (ish*t*aká) were made and known; and lime, mortar, and stucco were used for the purpose of plastering them (iv. 47, 2). The derivations of such words as ish*t*aká, stambha, a*tt*áliká, &c., which occur in the Veda and in the Grammar of Pá*n*ini, unmistakeably bear testimony to the existence of brick and stone buildings in those days. We read of a

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 48, 3; i. 56, 2. † Ibid, i. 116, 3.

‡ *Rig*-veda, i. 114. 1; i. 44, 10; i. 49, 4; x. 146, 1.

§ Ibid, i. 58, 8; ii. 20, 8; iv. 27, 1; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14; vii. 95, 1; viii. 89, 8; x. 101, 8.

|| Ibid, i. 166, 8; vii. 15, 14. ¶ *Rig*-veda, vii. 55.

"house having a thousand doors,"* of "a palace supported by a thousand columns,"† of "stately mansion" (i. 101, 8), of "lowly dwelling" (i. 101, 8), of "a destitute dwelling" (i. 104, 7), of "a spacious dwelling-place" (i. 36, 8), of "stone houses," of "carved stones," and of "brick edifices." There were also halls "vast, comprehensive, and thousand-doored." Va*s*ish*th*a longs for "a three storeyed dwelling" (v. 101, 2); and Atri is said to have been "thrown into a machine room with a hundred doors where he was roasted" (iv. 148).

The social, moral, and political ideas of a nation determine the character of its religion; and religious ideas react on social and political institutions. In the social, moral, or political organisation of the Indo-Aryans, there was evidently no idea of individuality. It does not need proving, it is sufficient merely to state, that there was no effort ever made for the passage from a regime of blind submission to sacerdotal authority in the entire conduct of life to a regime of intelligent independence. In matters of morals, politics, or faith, and even in private relations, the narrowest of tyrannies was exercised; and no right of others was recognised to a character or will of their own. Such hesitation is really detrimental to all progress. Liberty consists in the assertion of individuality; and all life is but individuation. But the Indo-Aryans abandoned individuality at the demand of the hierarchy; whose heavy demand was to crush all aspirations towards freedom, intellectual or otherwise. Obviously, want of regard to personality was the basis upon which the whole fabric of Indo-Aryan society was

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* *Ṛig*-veda, vii. 88, 5. † Ibid, ii. 41, 5.

reared. What with religion, what with morality, what with politics, and what with sociology, we are struck by the total absence of the idea of personality in the very constitution of the national life of the Indo-Aryans. To them, morality was never a question of conscience; but lay in the dicta of the *Ri*shis, who were the sole custodians of knowledge, and who decided right and wrong for them. And so we may assert with confidence that Hindu civilisation never arrived at that stage when the sharp distinction between legality and morality is compatible.

Society at first was an aggregation of patriarchal families. The story of *S*una*s*sepa and similar legends supply evidence for it. Parental authority, marital right, and property, all these evidently blended in the general conception of patriarchal power. Patriarchal absolutism, however, was tempered by natural instincts. Each family was complete in itself. The authority of the father was absolute. He was the ruler, the legislator, the judge, and the spiritual guide of the family. When the dominion of the father extended even to life and death, he administered his own law and his word was law. And it appears that the family law was evidently based on the traditions of the family. Society gradually advanced from its old patriarchal arrangement. Individuals had now a separate existence; and their rights were recognised as distinct from those of the family. The joint undivided family sprang out of patriarchal power. The Indo-Aryans lived together with their sons and grand-sons; and their domestic economy was founded upon the principles of the joint-family system (i. 114, 6). They were never weary of relatives (ii. 29, 4). In other respects

their conception of a home approached that of the English—"a pleasant abode,"—"a well-dressed wife,"—"an irreproachable and beloved wife," "who ornaments the chamber of sacrifice," and "adorns a dwelling," and a "draught of wine." In the central part of a house a place was set apart as domestic sacrificial ground. An altar and three fire-places were built in this place. Originally it was called the *Sadas*, or the place of sitting. It was a hallowed ground; and its desecration brought ruin upon the householder. It was, therefore, his sacred duty to protect it against the attacks of enemies.* All the classes, as a rule, rose early in the morning, kindled the sacred fire, and made an offering into it. Offerings were made twice every day (*Ri*g-veda, i. 16, 3). Altogether twenty-one sacrifices are mentioned (i. 20, 7). But it appears that at different seasons new sacrifices were also offered (i. 84, 18).

Careful and industrious wives superintended the arrangements of the house (i. 124, 4). Husband and wife were both rulers of the house; and there is no doubt that concord prevailed in the family (A. V. iii. 30). This trait in their domestic character illustrates the happiness of their family life. Although they rejoiced more at the birth of sons (i. 105, 3), who were in all cases inheritors of ancestral wealth (i. 73, 9); yet they showed tender affections for daughters. A daughter is equal to a son.* Women used to hold social meetings (A. V. vii. 12); and were also disposed to profit by the healthy influences of the company of men possessing cultivated minds (A. V. vii. 12). The unmarried daughters had a claim upon their

* Taittirîya-brâhma*n*a, iii. 3, 3, 1; Manu, ix. 45, 130.

father, brother, or other male relatives for subsistence (ii. 17, 7). And even daughters had claims to a share of the paternal property (ii. 124, 7). Women were active in their occupations; and for them there was needle-work.* The social position of women was considerably higher than it is in modern times. They are spoken of kindly and pleasantly, as "an ornament in a dwelling" (i. 66, 3). They could converse with their husbands on equal terms, and go together and attend the sacrifices. They were also quite at liberty to walk and ride abroad (ii. 166, 5); and were, without any reserve, present at public feasts and games. Lovely maidens appeared in a procession; and grown-up unmarried daughters remained without reproach in their fathers' houses. Our ancestors cultivated the laws of morality and civil polity to a great extent. Their social instinct was as old as the religious. The ties of blood were most scrupulously respected; and the extent to which matrimony among blood-relations could not be allowed was interdicted.† They had a marriage ceremonial;‡ but it is exceedingly difficult to determine in what manner the nuptial ceremonies were performed; and what rules were observed at such ceremonies. Marriage, however, as a civil contract was foreign to their mind. Doubtless, it was something more and higher than a mere contract, which is dissoluble as all other contracts are. The sacredness of the marriage institution completed a union that was sacramental and that could never be dissolved.

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* *Rig*-veda, ii. 288.

† *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a,, i. 8, 3, 6. Compare Exodus, xix. 36-38.

‡ *Rig*-veda, x. 109; see also Weber's Indische Studien, v. p. 177ff.

The ceremony of seven steps made it complete and binding on both sides. Marriage was celebrated at any time. The parents gave away their girls gracefully adorned and decked with golden ornaments (ix. 462 ; x. 39, 14). The promises which the bridegroom and the bride made to each other were suitable to the occasion. (x. 85, 21-47). The family of the intended bride, both on the mother's and on the father's side, was, as a rule, particularly inquired into.* At the marriage cows were slaughtered ;† and the bride and the bridegroom were anointed with butter and milk. Before the marriage ceremony an oblation of clarified butter was to be offered with the repetition of a text.‡ Various, indeed, were the customs of the different localities observed at the wedding. A'svaláyana prescribes a common marriage ceremony, which we reproduce here from "Indian Wisdom" (p. 199 f). "West of the (sacred) fire a stone (for grinding corn and condiments, such as is used by women in all households) is placed, and north-east a water-jar. The bridegroom offers an oblation, standing, looking towards the west, and taking hold of the bride's hands while she sits and looks towards the east. If he wishes only for sons, he clasps her thumbs and says, 'I clasp thy hands for the sake of good fortune' ; the fingers alone, if he wishes for daughters ; the hairy side of the hand along with the thumbs, if he wishes for both (sons and daughters). Then, whilst he leads her towards the right three times round the fire and round the water-jar, he says in a low tone, 'I am he, thou

* A'svaláyana's *Gri*hya-sútra, v. 3. Compare Manu, iii. 4, 10.

† *Ri*g-veda, x, 85, 13.

‡ *Ri*g-veda, v. 3, 2.

art she, thou art she, I am he; I am the heaven, thou art the earth; I am the Sáman, thou art the *Ri*k. Come; let us marry, let us possess offspring; united in affection, illustrious, well-disposed towards each other, let us live for a hundred years.' Every time he leads her round he makes her ascend the mill-stone, and says, 'Ascend thou this stone, be thou firm as a stone.' Then the bride's brother, after spreading melted butter on the joined palms of her hands, scatters parched grains of rice on them twice. Then, after pouring the oblation of butter on the fire, some Vaidik texts are recited. Then the bridegroom unlooses the two braided tresses of hair, one on each side of the top of the bride's head, repeating the Vaidik text, 'I loose thee from the fetters of Varu*n*a with which the very auspicious Savit*ri* has bound thee' (*Ri*g-veda, x. 85, 24). Then he causes her to step seven steps towards the north-east quarter, saying to her, 'Take thou one step for the acquirement of sap-like energy; take thou two steps for strength; take thou three steps for the increase of wealth; take thou four steps for well-being; take thou five steps for offspring; take thou six steps for the seasons; take thou seven steps as a friend; be faithfully devoted to me; may we obtain many sons—may they attain to a good old age!' Then bringing both their heads into close juxta position, some one sprinkles them with water from the jar. He should then remain for that night in the abode of an old Brahman woman whose husband and children are alive. When the bride sees the polar star and Arundhatí and the seven *Ri*shis (the stars of the great Bear), let her break silence and say 'May my husband live and may I obtain children.' When the bridegroom has completed the marriage cere-

monial he should give the bride's dress to one who knows the Súryyá-súkta (*Rig*-veda, x. 85), and food to the Brahmans; then he should make them pronounce a blessing on him." After the marriage, the first duty of the bridegroom is to attend to the kindling and maintaining of the household fire (i. 9.) They had also wedding apparel, for there is mention made of the bride's garment (x. 85, 3, 34). On the occasion of the nuptial ceremonies, a wish was expressed, as a rule, in the bride's favor that she may be a queen over her father-in-law, her mother-in-law, her husband's sister, and his brothers (x. 85, 46). The priests gave spiritual instructions to the grown-up brides as they parted with their parents (x. 85, 15). The maidens decorated themselves with unguents to go to their bridegrooms (iii. 58, 9). Early marriage by no means formed a rule; and the women enjoyed a freedom of choice in the selection of their husbands.* Girls were married after they had attained their youth (x. 85, 21-22); and some maidens remained unmarried through life (x. 85, 22). Remarriage of widows was not prohibited;† and mention is made of the marriage of a widow with her deceased husband's brother.‡ Although intermarriages between the Indo-Aryans and the *S*údras were disapproved, yet we can hardly believe that they were ever prohibited. The *R*ishis and priests married the daughters of kings;§ and they also received in marriage the daughters of other classes of the com-

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* *Rig*-veda x. 27, 12; see also Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a, ii. 4, 2, 7.

† Atharva-veda, ix. 5, 27f; Taittiríya-ára*n*yaka, vi. 1, 14.

‡ *Rig*-veda, x. 40, 2.

§ Wilson's *Rig*-veda, i. p. 139 etc.

munity.* But, in course of time, the growth of the mixed classes was considered as an evil.† The mixed classes, however, gradually grew powerful in the state; and thus a class of Aryans called *upakrishta* was created. Intermarriages, incorporation, and reaction among the aboriginal tribes, produced a society which aspired after equality with the real Aryans.‡ Polygamy was to a certain extent tolerated;§ though monogamy was the rule.‖ Polyandry was unknown.¶ There are also references made to conjugal infidelity.** There were also traces of the vices of civilisation; for we read in the Veda of common women (ii. 167, 4), of secret births (ii. 29, 1), of gambling and intoxication (x. 86, 6), and of thieves (i. 42, 3). Prof. Weber advances some astounding proofs of the little confidence entertained in ancient times by the Indo-Aryans in the chastity of their women.†† Notwithstanding all this women were held by

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* Wilson's *Rig*-veda, ii. pp. 14, 17-18.

† Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá, xxiii. 30-31.

‡ The Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a (iii. 2, 3, 9) is in favour of a *S*údra being admitted into the dwelling of an Aryan; but is against his milking sacrificial cows. Undoubtedly this was the first step in the improvement of his position. But the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a (i. 1, 4, 12; xiii. 8, 3, 11) not only admits him into society; but also sanctions his performing a sacrifice. Thus the *S*údras were incorporated into the Aryan society during this period. Pá*n*ini teaches how to accent such a word, as A'rya-brahman; which of course shows that there were also non-Aryan Brahmans.

§ *Rig*-veda, i. 62, 11; i. 105, 8; vii. 26, 3. Compare Genesis, iv. 19 and Leviticus, xviii. 18.

‖ Ibid, i. 105, 2; i. 124, 7. ¶ Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, iii. 23.

** Ibid, i. 167, 4; ix. 67, 10ff; x. 34, 4; x. 40, 6.

†† Nidána-sútra, iii. 8; see also *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, iii. 2,1,40.

the authors of the Bráhmanas in high estimation; but still there are other places in which they are spoken of disparagingly.* Adultery was no uncommon occurrence;† and it is stated that the wife of the person offering *praghása* to Varuna, must have one or more paramours.‡

Rice, barley, millet, and other kinds of grain, milk (ii. 137, 1), honey (ii. 139, 3), herbs (i. 90, 6), curd (ii. 137, 2), ripe fruits, butter, and cheese (ii. 134, 6) were their usual meal. In the *Rig*-veda distinct references are made to barley (yava);§ and mention of rice (vríhi), beans (másha), and tila is made in the Atharvan.|| Parched corn (dhána),¶ boiled rice (odana), cakes (upúpa), and meal prepared with curd or butter (karambha) are mentioned.** Barley cakes mixed with milk (v. 2, 3), boiled milk and boiled barley are alluded to (ii. 187, 9). We also read of vegetable cakes of fried meal (ii. 187, 10). Fruit (phala) is referred to.†† Bulls, rams, and buffalœs formed a portion of their food.‡‡ They were also beef-eaters.§§ It is true, that there was a time when bovine meat was actually deemed a delightful food, a token of generous hospitality in honour of a respected guest or *goghna*.|||| The slaughter of a cow on the arrival of a respectable guest was invariably practised in India. This

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* Taittiríya-samhitá, vi. 5, 8, 2.

† Taittiríya-samhitá, v. 6, 8, 3.

‡ Satapatha-bráhmana, ii. 5, 2, 20.

§ *Rig*-veda, i. 23, 15; i. 66, 3; i. 117, 21 etc.

|| vi. 140, 2.

¶ Ibid, i. 16, 2; iii. 35, 3; iii. 52, 5; vi. 29, 4.

** *Rig*-veda iii. 52. 7; vi. 57, 2; Atharva-veda, xi. 3, 32 and 49.

†† Ibid, iii. 45. 4.

‡‡ Ibid, i. 134, 43; v. 29, 7; viii. 12, 8; viii. 66, 10; x. 27, 2.

§§ Wilson's *Rig*-veda, i. p. 165; iii. pp. 163, 276, 416 and 453.

|||| Asiatic Researches, vii. p. 288.

custom was so widely prevalent that *goghna* or "cow-killer" came to pass as a term for such a guest. Even Pá*n*ini has given the etymology of *goghna* in the sense of a guest (iii. 4, 73). But it appears that the cow and one of its products (gomútra) came to be regarded as sacred in the days of Pata*m*jali, whose date has been fixed in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. Bovine meat was also considered as an essential accompaniment in the journey from this to the other world; so much so that a cow was in all cases consumed with the dead. In the honour of a distinguished guest the ceremony called Madhuparka or the offering of "honied meal," which consisted of curd and honey, was also imperative. On the arrival of such a guest a seat was first offered, then water to wash his feet with. This was called *pádya*. The washing was thrice repeated. After this, the *arghya*. or sacred water, and flower garlands were presented. Next a glass of water was given to wash the face and to drink of it. At last the Madhuparka was served. After throwing a little of the mixture into the air and offering it to certain deities he was requested to taste it three times. Cooking is described;* and in preparing flesh meat, part was boiled in a caldron, part was roasted on spits, and part was made into balls. There were vessels to distribute the broth; dishes with covers, and skewers and knives ii. 162, 13). The queens and wives assisted in cooking and preparing the every day meal and the banquets. There were different kinds of earthen cooking pots (kapálas). We read of kalasa or jar; and of kilns or furnaces for the baking of such vessels. And frequent

* *Ri*g-veda, ii. 162, 12; ii, 117; Atharva-veda, vi, 123, 4.

mention is made of "potters," and of "potter's wheel." The material which was used in the manufacture of domestic vessels was not only clay, but also wood and leather, and even metals. They had pitchers (ii. 180, 7), goblets (ii. 18, 6), platters (i. 28, 2), golden cups, plates of gold, silver, bronze, and magnetic iron; earthen vessels (v. 104, 21), wooden vessels and cups (ii, 175, 3; iv. 44, 5), leather skins for water, leather bottles and vessels (iii. 45, 1-3).

Wine was in use.* Swillers of wine are mentioned.† Our ancestors were greatly addicted to the drinking of spirits; and indulged excessively both in *soma* and other strong drinks. Wines or spirits were publicly sold in shops for the general use of the community. In the *Rig*-veda a hymn occurs which shows beyond all doubt that wine was kept in leather bottles,‡ and sold without any reserve to all comers. The Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a contains *mantras* which speak of the preparation of the liquor; but no information is available as to how the distillation was effected.

Our ancestors made considerable progress in their dress. But no information is available regarding its form and shape. It is possible that the mass of the population wore scarfs or plaidlike articles.§ The *Rig*-veda contains many texts which show that they were perfectly familiar with the art of weaving. We read of "a woman weaving a garment" (ii. 38, 4), of "female weavers," (ii. 3, 6), of the warp and the woof (vi. 9. 1), of "putting on becoming attire," of "a well-attired female," of "a well-dressed

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 116, 7; vii. 86, 6; x. 107, 9.

† Ibid, viii. 21, 14.

‡ Ibid, ii. 191, 10.

§ Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, i. p. 81.

woman," (iv. 80, 6), of "elegant garments" (iii. 3, 2), and of also "elegant well-made garments (x. 107, 9; v. 29, 15), as fit for honorary presents. In the Yajush and the Sáman there are many allusions to clothing; and in the former even "gold cloth" or "brocade" is mentioned.* We also read of carpets fringed with gold.† Furs, skins, cotton, and wool (iii. 5, 4) were the only materials of which clothing was made; and even various colors were used in dyeing textile fabrics. It appears that white clothes were especially prized (iii. 39, 2). Silk is nowhere mentioned in the Veda; but Pánini makes mention of it.‡ Mention of the needle and sewing has been met with; and there can be no doubt that our ancestors were familiar with dresses made with the aid of scissors§ and needle ii. 32, 4). They wore turbans; and turban or head-dress under the name of *ushnísha* is mentioned in the Atharva-veda (xv. 2, 1.)§ Female modesty required the covering of the body down to the ankles; and the breasts were never to be exposed. Women always wore a sheet and kanchuka over their clothes and had head-dresses of all forms;¶ and moved about with shoes or pattens on.**

The Indo-Aryans, as a rule, never cultivated the beard; and even in those early times razor (v. 4, 16) and barber

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* Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a, iii. 675.

† Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, vii. 18.

‡ कौशाद्वुञ् । iv. 3, 42.

§ *R*ig-veda, viii. 4, 16.

|| Muir's Sanskrit Texts, v. 462.

¶ *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, xiv. 2, 1, 8.

** Bühler's A'pastamba, p. 14.

were in every day requisition.* Allusions to shaving are also made.† Boots, shoes, and pattens were in fashion in those days. The material of which these were made was bovine leather. *Pánini* gives words for boots; and according to *Sámvatya* as cited by A'svaláyana (iv. 9, 24), the hide of the sacrificial cattle was used as material for shoes, and for other household articles. They had umbrellas.‡ The ladies had an inordinate fondness for ornaments and for decoration of the different parts of the body (i. 85, 1). They decorated themselves with garlands (iii. 38, 6); and even sons embellished themselves with ornaments (i. 85, 3). We read of golden ornaments (i. 35, 4), of golden collars, bracelets (iv. 53, 4), and finger-rings, of an 'adorable' uniform necklace (ii. 33, 10), of golden ear-rings, golden neck-chains, anklets, and of jewel necklace (ii. 122, 14). There is mention made of pearls (x. 68, 11), and of golden tiaras (iv. 54, 11). In the Bráhmana of the Yajur-veda jewellery is said to be strung in gold.§ The arrangement of the hair was a subject of earnest solicitude with the females.|| But the descriptions of the different forms of coiffure are not precise; and it is, therefore, not easy to make them out. Whether looking glasses formed part of the toilet is very doubtful. They had musical instruments of shells and reeds; and there is mention made of a harp with a hundred-strings (i. 85, 10), and of melodious lutes

* *Rig*-veda, i. 164, 44; i. 92, 4; x. 142, 4.

† *Rig*-veda, x. 142, 4.

‡ Pánini, vi. 4, 97.

§ Taittiríya-bráhmana, iii. 665.

|| *Rig*-veda, iv. 86.

(ii. 34, 13). Dancers afforded them entertainment ;* and for their amusement they had puppets (iii. 32, 23) and stage exhibitions.† There were also wise poets and eloquent satirists.‡

They had carriages and war chariots (iv. 63, 5) drawn by horses ; and bullock carts and waggons (i. 30, 15). The carriages were made of wood and mounted on brazen wheels ; and had iron reins and pillars. These carriages had seats§ and awnings ;|| and they were "easy going" (i. 13, 4), and sometimes "inlaid with gold." There were chariots, spacious and richly ornamented with three metals, gold, silver, and copper ; and fitted with golden trappings. We also read of "three columned triangular car" (i. 47, 2), of "golden three shafted chariots," of "golden wheels covered with iron weapons," and of "arming the wheels." In the *Rig*-veda "three benches as fixtures in each car, and the space sufficient for several persons and some goods," are mentioned (ii. 183, 1). There were also **kasá** or whips (i. 22, 3).

Gold, silver, copper, and iron were known and worked. They appear to have been the first to discover how to turn iron into steel. They used golden mail, raiment, and helmet,¶ the "coat of mail" (i. 56, 3), "golden breastplates" (iv. 53, 4), "cuirasses of leather" (v. 5, 38), "cotton-quilted cuirass," "golden cuirass" (iv. 54, 11), "iron mail and armour (i. 56, 3)." The *Rig*-veda notices

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 92, 4.

† Ibid, iii. 185.

‡ Ibid, i. 141, 7.

§ Ibid, i. 175 ; i. 64, 9.

|| Ibid, i. 94.

¶ Ibid, i. 25, 13 ; v. 7, 25.

banners (i. 103, 11); and the war-cry is also alluded to (i. 37, 2). The conch-shell in battle is mentioned (i. 112, 1). The drum* was the instrument for marshalling troops or giving orders to them. The martial wind-instrument is also mentioned.† The army consisted of both foot soldiers (A. V. vii. 62, 1) and mounted troops (i. 65, 3; i. 73, 9). We read of "people arrayed in martial order" (v. 79, 2); and of the commander of the whole host (i. 33, 3). There were also messengers of war (iv. 83, 3). Warriors burnished their weapons (i. 92, 1); and they gained booty from their foes in battles (i. 73, 5; vi. 75). Elephants were trained (i. 84, 17), and horses were gorgeously caparisoned (iii. 41, 9; iii. 42, 1). We read of arrows furnished with feathers, the horns of the deer forming their points (v. 75, 11). And arrows were generally made of the *sara* reed with a blade of iron and besmeared with poison (i. 117, 16). Their weapons and implements were swords, spears, lances, helmets, javelins, war-missiles, discuses, clubs, bucklers, bows, quivers, arrows, shafts, axes, razors, scissors, knives, hatchets, and hooks; and those that were made of metal were sharpened on grindstones (ii. 39, 7).

Religion moulded Indian life, and all its social and political institutions. Even investigations in the various departments of knowledge are traceable to religion. The idea of a future life was the supreme idea which shaped the course of life of the Indo-Aryans. The healthy movement of the intellect, which is the true basis of civilisation, and the improvements that were made

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 28, 5; vi. 47, 29, 31.

† Ibid; i. 117, 21.

in the several branches of knowledge, depended upon this idea alone. The subsequent deterioration of the intellect, and the consequent retrogression of the Indo-Aryans, were also due to this one fact; because the idea itself put unnatural pressure upon their intellect. Their religious institutions, their turn of mind, and the natural aspects of the country—all these contributed to keep up that supreme idea. However, it is beyond doubt that the idea of a future life originally exercised a healthy influence upon all the systems; but, in course of time, such influence brought about an abnormal condition of society. The intellect was sackled,—the freedom of thought was lost,—the people wallowed in the mire of superstition. This circumstance brought the civilisation of the Indo-Aryans to a stand. Those branches of knowledge which were intimately connected with religion developed most rapidly; but those that had no such connection came into existence by the prime force of necessity. As necessity led to their cultivation, their improvement necessarily varied according to the same necessity. All that can be assumed now is that religion and religion alone led to the development of the civilisation of the Indo-Aryans.

Astronomical observations were first carried on simply with a view to fix the right time for the performance of the sacrifices; and the earliest beginnings of geometrical and mathematical investigations among them arose also from certain* sacrificial requirements. The laws of phonetics were cultivated because it was a grave offence to the gods to pronounce wrongly a single letter of the sacrificial formulas; grammar and etymology were studied simply for the right understanding of the

holy scriptures. And philosophy and theology have ever been closely connected.

The science of numbers was highly developed. They counted beyond a hundred.* The *S*ulva-sútra of Baudháyana, and of A'pastamba, and the *S*ulva-pari*s*ish*t*a of Kátyáyana, contain a number of interesting rules for the construction of various altars, which could not be built without some amount of geometrical knowledge. The property of the right-angled triangle was known to them. They also tried to express the relation between the diagonal and the side of a square, and arrived at a very close approximation. But the most interesting attempt they made in the cultivation of geometrical operations was that of squaring the circle.

The mention of the "star-gazers,"† of the "calculator,"‡ of "observers of the stars," and of "the science of astronomy,"§ warrants us to conclude that astronomical science was then actively cultivated. The quinquennial cycle|| as well as a sexennial cycle¶ was known to them; and the division of the year was made into twelve (or 13, i. e. the intercalary month)** months consisting of 360 days, and each day having 30 muhúrtas. The moon was to them the measurer of time; and there is an expression evidently of an astronomical fact that she shines only

* White Yajur-veda, xvii. 2-3.

† Ibid, v. 10.

‡ Ibid, v. 20.

§ Chhándogya-upanishad, ch. vii. § 1. [55, 18.

|| White Yajur-veda, v. 15; xxvii. 45; *Ri*g-veda, i. 25, 8; iii.

¶ Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a, iii. 10, 4, 1.

** *Ri*g-veda, i. 2; Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá, xxii. 30; Atharva-veda, v. 6, 4.

through reflecting the light of the sun.* They knew that "the sun does never set nor rise."† A close observation of the moon's progress, and of the appearance of the group of stars near which she passes, was already made. There are references made to the twelve signs of the zodiac (*Ṛig*-veda, i. 164, 11), to the winter solstice and the summer solstice (i. 164, 12), and to the diurnal motion of the sun (i. 123, 8). They had the conception of the use of the lunar and solar years; and of the method of adjusting them with reference to each other.‡ It appears that the lunar chronology must have preceded the solar chronology.§ They determined the cardinal points of the horizon (i. 31, 14); and calculated the eclipses.|| It was known to them that the earth turns regularly round the sun, whence it derives light and heat.¶ They also divided the year into seasons.** It is an interesting fact that they had some knowledge of the laws of attraction;†† and it is not improbable that the law of gravitation may have been one of those known to them. Even the theories of modern geology are foreshadowed in the ancient myth.‡‡

We read of the constellations;§§ and the Lunar Mansions (the Lunar Zodiac) comprise a division of the circle

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* *Ṛig*-veda, i. 84, 15.

† Haug's Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, ii. p. 242. (iii. 44).

‡ *Ṛig*-veda, i. 25, 8.

§ *Ṛig*-veda, x. 85, 18 ; compare Psalms, civ. 19.

|| Ibid, iv. 2, 12.   ¶ Yajur-veda, xx. 23.

** *Ṛig*-veda, i. 95, 3 ; x. 85, 5 ; Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, iv. 4, 11, 1.

†† Ibid, ix. 86, 19.

‡‡ Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, vi. 5, 35.

§§ *Ṛig*-veda, i. 50, 2.

of the heavens into 27 equal parts of 13°20′ to each part. It is to be understood that this division could not have been made without an instrument. Our ancestors must have possessed a knowledge of the use of appropriate apparatus like the armillary sphere to explain the lunar zodiac, and to illustrate its use. The division of the heavens into twenty-seven Nakshatras, a division which is the soul of the sacred calendar, and according to which all the Vaidik sacrifices were performed,* is said not to have been indigenous in India, but borrowed from without. M. Biot published several articles in the Journal des Savans, in which he tried to prove the Chinese origin of the Indian Nakshatras or moon-stations. He maintained that the number of the Nakshatras was originally 28, and afterwards reduced to 27. There occurs one allusion in the hymns to the Nakshatras in its technical sense;† and the 27 divisions with their asterisms and presiding deities are alluded to in the Bráhma*n*as. The names of the presiding deities of the Nakshatras are also given in other places.‡ But notwithstanding these facts it has been urged that the division of the heavens into 27 Nakshatras was borrowed from China. The originality of the Veda would certainly be destroyed, in case it were proved that even at that early age a foreign civilisation was allowed to exercise influence upon the growth of the Indian mind. M. Biot supported his favorite propositions with so much learning and skill that so ingenious a scholar as Prof. Lassen took his side, and admitted the introduc-

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* Haug's Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, i. pp. 42 *seq.*

† *Ri*g-veda, i. 50, 2; x. 85, 2.

‡ Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, iv. 4, 10, 1-3.

tion of the Chinese *Sieu* into northern India before the 14th century B. C.* According to M. Biot's own statement the number of the Chinese *Sieu* was only 24, and was not raised to 28 till the year 1100 B. C. Astronomy, at least that portion of it, which bears relation to the Nakshatras, or the twenty-seven lunar mansions of the Indo-Aryans, is closely connected with Vaidik worship.

The Vaidik sacrifices could not have been in any case performed without a knowledge of the lunar mansions. The Indian names of the months were derived from the names of the constellations; and the names of the constellations again were derived, for the most part, from the names of ancient Vaidik deities.† The exact time of the lunar festivals is fixed with such close accuracy, that the Indo-Aryans, at the time when those public sacrifices were common, must have been, in a high degree, proficient in astronomy. The growth of astronomical knowledge in India, is closely connected with the intellectual and especially the religious history of that country. The original division of the year into lunar months must have taken effect prior to the first separation of the great Aryan family. If we find the same names of the months in Sa*m*sk*r*it and Chinese; and if these names the Chinese Dictionary cannot explain, surely the conclusion must be that they were borrowed by the Chinese from the Indo-Aryans, and not by the Indo-Aryans from the Chinese. The three winter months are designated in Chinese as Pehoua, Moké, and Pholkuna; and these names correspond with the three Indian months Pausha, Mágha, and

* Indian Antiquities, p. 747.

† Whitney's Súrya-siddhánta, p. 203.

Phálguna. These Indian months received their names from the corresponding Nakshatras Pushyá, Maghá, and Phalguní. Shall we infer, then, that the Indo-Aryans borrowed the idea of the lunar Nakshatras from the Chinese, or, that the Chinese borrowed them from the Indo-Aryans? The Nakshatras, indeed, were suggested to the Indo-Aryans by the moon's sidereal revolution; and their number was originally 27, and not 28. The *Sieu* were originally 24 in number; and they were afterwards raised to 28. It should be observed here that there is no trace to be found of a like change in India. The *manzil** of the Arabians were also directly derived from India. The Chinese system of *Sieu* differs from the Indian system of Nakshatras both in its structure and its object. The object of the Nakshatra system was to mark the progress of the sun, the moon, and the planets through the heavens. This Nakshatra system had from the beginning a strictly scientific structure and application. The relation of the Chinese *Sieu* to the Nakshatras, is altogether out of the question. The *Sieu* throughout are but single stars;† while the *Tárás* are clusters of stars. The attempt to identify the Chinese *Sieu* with the Indian Nakshatras, or 27 lunar mansions, is decidedly futile.

Another proof of the social progress of the Indo-Aryans is derived from their knowledge of herbs and mode of medical treatment. There is mention made of medicaments for the ailments of our bodies (v. 74, 3); and a hymnist prays to Rudra saying "Invigorate our sons by thy medical plants" (ii. 33, 4). "Ambrosia,"

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* Qur'án, x. 5; xxxvi. 39.

† Whitney's Súrya-siddhánta, p. 207.

says a son of Ka*n*va, "is in the waters." "All medicaments are in the waters" (i. 23, 20), thus anticipating in so remote antiquity the hydropathic doctrine of the present century. They had the knowledge of the three humours of the body, *i. e.* wind, bile, and phlegm (i. 34, 6); and of the hygienic properties of water, air, and vegetables. Jaundice and consumption appear to have been the prevailing diseases of this period.* Agni is said to be the remover of diseases. The Maruts possess the knowledge of remedies. Rudra is a god of healing; and the most excellent remedies are at his disposal. The A*s*vins are called physicians of the gods; and they are said to have given sight to Ka*n*va.† Soma is the remover of diseases (i. 91), and is also supposed to preside over medicinal herbs. Anatomical observations were then made by dissecting the victims at the sacrifices. At any rate, animal anatomy was perfectly understood, as each of the different parts of the body had its own well-defined name.‡ From the Upanishads we gather that the heart, the arteries, and the viens struck the thinkers of those times;§ and there are altogether 101 arteries.‖ There is ample evidence of the practice of medicine in those early days; and we read of a "doctor who seeks a patient."¶

The practice of burial is clearly and unmistakeably indicated in the 18th Súkta of the tenth book of the

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* *Ri*g-veda, x. 161; x, 163.

† *Ri*g-veda, i. 117.

‡ Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 30.

§ Kaushítaki-upanishad, iv. 20.

‖ Ka*th*a-upanishad, vi. 16; Pra*s*na-upanishad, iii. 6.

¶ *Ri*g-veda, ix. 112, 1.

Rig-veda, which can be properly called the burial hymn. Another funeral hymn also occurs in the 8th book of the same Veda, which suggests rather incremation. However, the practice of the Indo-Aryans was both cremation and burial: the bodies were burnt and the cinerary remains buried. After the death of a man a burnt offering (*homa*) was made. When it was done the carcase of the dead was washed; and nails, hair, and beard were cut off. It was then covered with a new cloth and wrapped up in its bedding; and was placed on a cot made of *udumbara* wood, spread over with the skin of a black antelope, to be borne to a *smasâna* or burning ground by aged slaves, or on a cart drawn by two bullocks. The road from the house to the cremation ground was divided into three stages; for the people forming the funeral procession would halt at the end of each stage. A sacrificial animal, either a cow or a black she-goat also formed a most important member of the profession. The cow was sacrificed, but the goat was let loose (compare *Rig*-veda, x. 16, 4). A piece of ground was to be excavated in the burning ground; and the performer of the ceremony was to sprinkle water on it with a samí branch. Firewood was piled up in the trench, and kusa-grass was spread over it along with the black antelope skin. Next the corpse was laid on it; and portions of the slaughtered cow and the various sacrificial implements were placed on the different parts of its body. This being done the fire was applied to it. His wife, as a rule, remained lying by the side of the pyre; but either a younger brother of the deceased, or a disciple, or an old servant removed her. The chief mourner was to offer twelve oblations to the fire. The funeral pyre was

thus allowed to smoulder. The members of the procession then proceeded to the three trenches dug by the chief mourner or to the river, and there bathed themselves for the purpose of purification. When they immersed themselves it was required of them to throw a handful of water into the air, uttering the name of the deceased and that of his family. After ablution they put on other clothes and sat down till the close of the day; and afterwards they passed under a yoke struck in the ground, and returned home. The young ones would walk first, and the old ones last. Before they entered their house they were required, for purification, to touch the stone, the fire, cow-dung, tila-seed, oil, and water. During the night they would not cook any food; but ate only what food might be bought. And for three nights they had to abstain altogether from anything prepared with salt and spices.

On the morning of the 3rd, 5th, or 7th day the charred bones and ashes of the dead man were gathered together, and placed in an urn, which was previously filled up with curd and honey, and at last covered over with grass. Subsequently a proper spot was selected and swept with a sami broom. Then a hole was dug, and the urn deposited in it with bricks laid over it. After this, earth was thrown over the excavation. Lastly pebbles and sand were scattered around, and more bricks added. On the tenth day after death the rite called *Śántikarma* was performed. The relatives by blood assembled together in a place out of a town and sat down there on a bullock-hide. A fire was now lighted, and the chief mourner offered four oblations to it. After this the relatives were to get up and utter a mantra, while all of

them should touch a bull; and the women put on collyrium. This being done, the chief mourner recited a mantra and effaced the foot-marks of the bull with a samí branch as the whole company moved on towards his house. On their departure the Adhvaryu was to place a circle of stones, so that death may not overtake them. The funeral procession after repairing to the house of the chief mourner partook of the meal prepared with kid and barley. This feast resembled with the Roman *feriæ novendiales* which was held on the ninth day after burial or cremation. The mourning lasted for twelve days after the death of a parent or a spiritual father; and for a near relation, either male or female, the period of mourning was fixed for ten days. For distant relatives and other teachers the mourning lasted for three nights; and for a school-fellow for one day only. Here we should observe that the *Rig*-veda does not authorise the burning of widows. The hymn which is supposed to authorise the practice, is found in the second hymn of the second chapter of the tenth book of the same Veda. The last words of the original text are as follow: आरोहन्तु योनिम् अग्रे "let them go up into the dwelling first," which have been wrongly read and altered into आरोहन्तु योनिम् अग्ने "let them go up to the place of the fire." The former is undoubtedly the correct reading; while there is no authority for the latter reading. The idea of Satí seems to have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Skythians.*

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* Herodotus, iv. 71.

CHAPTER V.

The Religious Development of the Indo-Aryans.

There is a faculty of faith in man, a power independent of sense and reason, the primordial source of any religion, which enables him to apprehend the Infinite. It is true, that Nature does not speak of itself, but of One Who speaks by it. Nature is great, but the soul of man is greater. Religion is a spontaneous sentiment, an intuitive perception, in which the mind unconsciously draws its breath and has its being. It is not the product of reasoning. It is the hidden fount of Faith, which gushes up within the man. Man in all the entirety of his complex nature cries out for the Living God. Human reason cries out for God, because it cannot rest on its onward march till it arrives at an Intelligent First Cause. Human thought cries out for God, as it needs something permanent and unchangeable to lean upon. In the hymns we hear in unmistakeable language the lispings of infancy, the groanings of struggling spirits for something greater and higher that is neither fathomable nor utterable. And in such mental struggles they formed various conceptions of the Deity ; and as the case may be, they made no apparent distinction between the concrete and the abstract ; nor between the coarsely material and the purely spiritual. As long as man looks upon isolated facts, he cannot divest himself of narrow and false views of the universe and of its Creator. Considering the phenomena of the universe as unconnected with each other, and attributing them to different agencies, he is led to recognise an Agni

as the principle of the organic world, and an Indra as the governor of the firmament. In the first stage of thought, when the mind had not risen to the conception of the unity of God, it was but natural that the principal forces and energies of nature should at first draw the attention of man; and thus the sun, the moon, and other bright objects would be worshipped and adored as they appeared to possess unbounded powers; and that the different domains of nature should be allotted to different gods, each of whom presiding over his own province; this of the wind, that of the sea, and the third of the sun. But in the *Rig*-veda such departments are not clearly defined; and we thus see that one domain is presided over by more than one deity.* The deified forces of nature were sometimes individualized, and sometimes gathered under one general conception; and those forces received homage in different ways, sometimes singly, and sometimes collectively. The energies of nature were taken to be something more than powerful forces; they were regarded as concrete personalities. The Indo-Aryans recognised the presence of the Divine in the bright aspects of nature; and, therefore, they called the blue sky, the fertile earth, the genial fire, the bright day, the golden dawn as their deities. The flaming orb of the mighty brilliant sun, the rattling thunderstorm, the flashing lightnings, the rolling thunders, the fitful whisperings of the forest trees, the furious blasts, rain, mist, and hail awaken bright fancies in the mind of the thoughtful and poetic man. These, indeed, are the powers which thrilled and awed our ancestors; and made a tremendous impression upon their desponding

* Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, v. p. 5.

mind. The mind of man when so simple and childlike begins to reflect upon the powerful and unintelligible forces of nature, and being bewildered in its own ignorance, in awe bows down and offers sacrifices to them. The forces and energies of nature overwhelm it with emotions that are the germ of adoration and worship. The mind of man represents them sometimes as benevolent and sometimes as terrible; and ascribes to them the very same character which it observes in daily life. Such was the natural working of the mind of our ancestors in the childhood of their faith. The birth of certain gods is conceived; and such birth can have no other than a physical meaning.* But undoubtedly the Vedas know of no images.† The real stately theogony of the Veda

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* Müller's Chips from a German Workshop, i. p. 38.

† "The Vedas hold out precautions against framing a Deity after human imagination, and recommend mankind to direct all researches towards the surrounding objects, viewed, either collectively or individually, bearing in mind their regular, wise, and wonderful combinations and arrangements."—*Introduction to the Abridgment of the Vedanta by Raja Rammohun Roy*, p. vii. Max Müller, in his *Chips from a German Workshop*, i. p. 38, says, "The religion of the Veda knows of no idols. The worship of idols in India is a secondary formation, a later degradation of the more primitive worship of ideal gods." Dr. Bollensen, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxii. pp. 587 ff., on the other hand, contends against this opinion. When we take into consideration the fact that our ancestors were of a deep poetical temperament and of a delicate imaginative nature, it appears very probable that the gods received a variety of ideal or human forms and epithets. Thus they were invoked to discharge the functions which the poetical feeling of their worshippers attributed to them. Hence, when we read of such epithets as n*ri*pesas (*Ri*g-veda, iii. 4, 5) &c., and of such expressions as rúpa, vapus, and sand*ri*s, we are to understand them as used only in a metaphorical sense.

is not the property of the Indo-Aryans alone; but rather the joint-property of the whole Aryan race. The mythology of the *Ri*g-veda is sometimes very marked and distinct, and sometimes very indistinct and hazy. But, no doubt, there is more distinct mythology in the ninth and the tenth book than in the first eight books of the Veda. The mythology of one *Ri*shi is not necessarily the mythology of others; and as there are many *Ri*shis, so there are many mythologies. The mythology is closely connected with worship; and the ceremonies appear to be imitations of celestial phenomena, which may be reduced to two groups: the solar and the meteorological phenomena. In both the groups, we easily distinguish the male and the female elements. The male elements are the Sun and the Agni, and the female elements, the Dawn and the Cloud. The mythology was at first anthropopathic, and then gradually became cosmic. What myths originated in the first stage of civilisation, were of course developed during the successive periods of its growth. "Myths are, in fact, formed independently of one another; they regard the same object in different aspects, and among different objects they seize the same relations. As they radiate from diverse centres, they mutually interpenetrate each other and issue of course in a certain syncretism."* The origin of almost all mythological legends is attributable to the naïve ascription of human agency to the powers of nature, and consequently to their ultimate individualization. Max Müller has attempted to explain the Vaidik mythology by propounding the solar theory; and in his opinion the

* Barth's Religions of India, p. 25.

development of that mythology was owing to the solar influence in its various manifestations.* But Kuhn advances the meteorological theory. We should, however, call it psychologico-lingual theory. According to Max Müller, the Aryans, as they were highly imaginative, gave various names to the same object; but they soon forgot the importance or rather the import of the original names; and from this mythology consequently arose. However, it was the first stage in the growth of Vaidik mythology; but language was never at rest to spin it. It has been very appropriately said that mythology was the bane of the ancient world, a disease of language.† It is nevertheless history changed into fable; which is not without peculiar charms, and which is also full of interesting problems that supply ample materials for the history of Aryan thought And it is at the same time most valuable to the student of history not only in a philological, but also in a philosophical, and more especially in a psychological point of view.

Yáska, following the ancient expounders who preceded him, has reduced the number of the gods to three, viz. Agni, whose place is on the earth; Váyu, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere; and Súrya, whose place is in the sky.‡ Besides this triple classification the gods are sometimes said to be thirty-three in number;§ and sometimes as being much more numerous, i. e. three hundred,

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* Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, ii. p. 519.

† Ibid, i. p. 11.

‡ Nirukta, vii. 5; compare *Ri*g-veda, x. 158, 1.

§ *Ri*g-veda, i. 34, 11; i. 45, 2; i. 139, 11; viii. 28, 1; viii. 30, 2; viii. 35, 3; ix. 92, 4; compare *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, iv. 5, 7, 2; and also Mahábhárata, iii. 171. See also Yas*n*a, ii. 43.

three thousand and thirty-nine.* They are again divided into great and small, young and old.† But this distinction is denied in another passage ;‡ and though frequently described as immortal,§ they are never spoken of as self-existent beings.

Dyaus,|| or the Greek Ζεύς,¶ and P*ri*thiví are invoked to attend religious rites ; and to grant a variety of boons. They are described as possessing physical, moral, and spiritual characteristics. They are jointly called the universal parents ; but elsewhere the Heaven is singly called father (the Dyaush pitar** or Ζεύς πατήρ = Heaven-father) and the Earth mother. They are the parents not only of men but also of the gods. They are said to be the creators and sustainers of all things ; but passages are not altogether wanting where they are spoken of as themselves created. Though Indra is said to be their creator ; yet they are also spoken of as created by Soma, Púshan, Dhát*ri*, and Hira*n*yagarbha. They are also said to have received their shape from Tvash*tri*, and to have sprung from the head and the feet of Purusha ; and to be supported by Mitra, Savit*ri*, Varu*n*a, Indra, Soma, and Hira*n*yagarbha.

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* *Rig*-veda, iii. 9, 9.

† Ibid, i. 27, 13.

‡ Ibid, viii. 30, 1.

§ Ibid, i. 24, 1 ; i. 72, 2, 10 ; i. 189, 3 ; iii. 21, 1 ; iv. 42, 1 ; x. 13, 1 ; x. 69, 9.

|| Dyaus is connected with a root *div*, which means *to shine*. The name has no hint of cloud or of rain. But in later form Dyaus becomes a god of rain and thunder. Before the dispersion of the old Aryan stock he was its chief divinity.

¶ Müller's Science of Language, i. p. 11 ; ii. pp. 425-434.

** *Rig*-veda, vi. 51, 5.

Aditi is the only goddess spoken of by name in the *Rig*-veda. What is not Diti is Aditi.* Diti was originally mountain-fastnesses ,cavities, the recesses of forests. Aditi certainly is a negative conception. The conception of Aditi was developed out of the idea of extensive plains. Such a conception, however, culminated in the idea of infinity; and at last she became an important goddess. She is styled the goddess or the divine; and is the source and supporter of all things, and represents the whole nature. She is supplicated for different blessings, and for forgiveness of sins. She is said to be the mother of Varu*n*a, and of other gods; and her gifts are pure and celestial. She, as the great power, wields the forces of the universe, and controls men by moral laws. In the Sáma-veda, Aditi is represented with her sons and brothers. The sons are called A'dityas; and they are Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varu*n*a, Daksha, and A*m*sa.† But, in some places, they are said to be seven, in others eight in number, though their names are not mentioned. They are described as sleepless, many-eyed, vast, strong, bright, holy, pure, golden, sinless, blameless. They are far-observing; and all things are near to them. They see good and evil in men's hearts, and punish sin.

Mitra is frequently associated with Varu*n*a. Varu*n*a, however, is sometimes separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Mitra etymologically signifying the *measurer*, was originally the name of the day; and Varu*n*a etymo-

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* M. Ad. Regnier, E'tude sur l'idiome des Vedas, p. 28, remarks: "Aditi is the name of a divinity, a personification of *the All*, the mother of the gods."

† *Rig*-veda, ii. 27, 1.

logically signifying the *coverer*,* was originally the name of the night. Mitra and Varu*n*a are the most important from the identification of the former with the Mithra of the Zand-Avesta;† and of the latter with the Οὐρανὸς of the Greeks. Varu*n*a occupies a rather more prominent place in the hymns; he presides over light, and it is said in one passage that the constellations are his holy acts, and that the moon moves by his command. He is called the source of light; he grants wealth, averts evil, and protects cattle. In another passage, he is said to abide in the ocean, and to be acquainted with the course of ships. He is also said to know the flight of birds in the sky, and the regular succession of months. His character, however, does not appear to have been the same throughout the whole period represented by the Vaidik hymns. He is the sovereign of his own abode; and a king both of the gods and of men often surrounded by his messengers. He is mighty, fixed in purpose, far-sighted, and visible to his worshippers. To him are attributed the grandest cosmical functions. He is said to have created the Heaven and the Earth; and to uphold, and rule over them. He possesses a high moral character more than any other gods. His laws are fixed and unimpeachable; and he controls the destinies of men. He is besought to

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* From root *var* (to cover, enclose, keep). Cf. Skr. varana, Zand, varena, *covering*.

† Herodotus confounds Mitra with Mylitha; but the important thing to be observed is, that Mitra was a Persian god. There are evidently many passages in the Vendídád which prove that among the ancient Persians Mithra was sometimes represented as the Sun. But the modern Pársis understand by it Meher Izad, in contradistinction to Khurbeshíd, the Sun.

drive away evil, to give deliverance from sin, and to prolong life. The same attributes and functions are also ascribed to Mitra. Varu*n*a was an older god than Indra; and the homage originally paid to the former was gradually transferred to the latter. The Varu*n*a-worship declined, and the Indra-worship superseded it. This was the result of the gradual change which marked the Indo-Aryan religion. The anteriority of Varu*n*a to Indra is borne out by the coincidence of his name with the Οὐρανος of Greek mythology; while all attempts at the identification of Indra with any other character of the same mythology are out of the question.

Indra* (Jupiter Pluvius)† was human; and his original name was Vindra which means the *obtainer*. He is lauded both in the Vedas and the Zand-Avesta under the common designation of the "Destroyer of V*ri*tra" (V*ri*traghna in Sa*m*skr*it*, and Verethraghna in Zand); who was an Asura or Assyrian—the common enemy of the Indo-Aryans and the Persa-Aryans. He was deified for his exploits. He is described as being born; and as having both parents. He is also said to have been produced by the gods; and to have sprung from the mouth of Purusha. He is a twin brother of Agni. The highest divine attributes and functions are attributed to him. In some of the hymns, he is invoked only when he is present and active; he seems to be forgotten when he is not present.‡ He is spoken of in some places as having physical superiority; and in others as having no spiritual

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* Pá*n*ini (v. 2, 93) uses the word *Indra* in the sense of *energy*; and so does the *Ri*g-veda (i. 55, 4). Compare Taittiríya-sa*m*hitá, ii. 2, 5.

† Strabo, xv. 1, 69; Benfey's Orient und Occident, i. p. 49.

‡ De Gubernatis, Letture sopra la Mitologia Vedica, p. 28.

elevation or moral grandeur; though there are various other texts in which he is found to be invested with an ethical character. He is besought by men like a father, and for temporal blessings; and also faith in him is enjoined. He is represented as heroic, strong, martial, ancient, youthful, undecaying, and wielding the thunderbolt. He is golden; and can assume any shape at will. His wife is alluded to; and his intimate relation with his worshippers is adverted to. He is the destroyer of enemies; and he conquered heaven by austerity. During the first period of civilisation the conception of Indra was that of the leader of a gang of hunters, described as savage, intoxicated, and impetuous. During the pastoral period he was concieved as a shepherd for a hook is mentioned as being his weapon. When the Aryans gave up their wild habits, and betook themselves to agricultural pursuits the nature of Indra was transformed; and so he is spoken of as having a patriarchal family—this doubtlessly relates to the agricultural period. And at last during the period of chivalry he was elevated to the rank of a king; and now he was invoked as a god of war and victory.

Váyu, the blower, is frequently found in conjunction with Indra; and does not seem to occupy a very prominent place in the *Rig*-veda. He is the son in-law of Tvash*tri*; and is spoken of as beautiful in form. Púshan, the harvest-sun, nourishes the growth of crops. He is the protector on a journey, particularly from robbers; and he is said to be the divinity presiding over the earth. He is connected with the marriage ceremonial (x. 85, 26 and 37); and is supplicated to take the bride's hand and lead her away, and to bless her in her conjugal relation.

Rudra literally means one who cries ; and in process of time he became the god of thunder and storms; and also became the protector of cattle. The character of Rudra is identical with that of Púshan. He is the source of fertility, and the giver of happiness ; and he is said to preside over medicinal plants, and is invoked for the removal of diseases. He is represented as the lord of evil spirits. He was originally an object of worship with the aborigines; and such worship was gradually adopted by the Indo-Aryans. The Maruts,* the pounders, or Rudras are the sons of Rudra and Pri*s*ni. They are very commonly represented as the attendants of Indra, and as the children of the ocean. They are spoken of as golden-footed ; and they are said to worship Indra. The Maruts were the leaders of hunters ; but in course of time they seem to have lost their anthropopathic character. The invocations of the Vi*s*ve-devá*h* or the *All-gods* as they are called, represent a later phase of thought than the invocations of each individual deity singly. They are nine in number, such as Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varu*n*a and the rest. They are besought as preservers of men, and as bestowers of rewards.

Agni (the Latin Ignis) is indeed called the lowest of the gods, but notwithstanding this he is greatly revered. He is invoked at all sacrifices ; and as he is the sacrificial

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* Porf. Kuhn first pointed out that Maruts and Mars are radically connected. He is also of opinion that Maruts were primarily understood as the souls of the departed, and as such souls were taken as winds or ghosts or spirits, they gradually assumed the character of Storm-gods. But this opinion is not warranted by the hymns of the *Ri*g-veda. —Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language, ii. p. 323.

fire, he is the servant of both men and gods, carrying the invocations and the offerings of the former to the latter; he invites the gods to the ceremonies; and performs them in behalf of the lord of the house. Represented as a divinity, his is immortality, his is never-failing youth, invested with infinite power and glory. He is the granter of life, health, food, wealth, and cattle. He is the source of effulgent light, and the destroyer of all things. He is golden-haired and an emblem of purity. He is known under various appellations; and many deities inferior to him are purely his manifestations. He is identified with Vish*n*u, Varu*n*a, Mitra, Indra, Aryaman, Yama, A*m*sa, Tvash*tri*, Rudra, Púshan, Savit*ri*, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotrá, Bhárati, I*lá*, Sarásvatí, and with the eternal Vedhas; and the functions and attributes of other deities are often ascribed to him. He is the son of Heaven and Earth; and elsewhere he is said to have been generated by the gods, and to have been brought from the sky by Mátari*s*van. His production is also attributed to the waters. He again is the father of the gods; and is regarded as having a triple existence. He knows the races of the gods and of men. He is the protector, friend, and leader of the people. He is the divine king, and is as strong as Indra; and is worshipped by Varu*n*a, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the three thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine gods. During the period of chivalry Indra and Soma, no doubt, superseded Agni.

Súrya, or the Greek ἥλιος, and Savit*ri* are exact personifications of the sun; and under these two different epithets the sun is chiefly represented in the hymns. Súrya is spoken of as an A'ditya; and occupies in the Vaidik worship a place not very prominent as could naturally be

anticipated from the magnificence and splendour of that luminous body. He is said to be god-born, and to have been generated by Indra, Agni, Soma, Mitra, and Varu*n*a. He is the divine leader or the priest of the gods. Like Agni and Indra, he is the source of light, and the granter of temporal blessings. He is all-seeing ; and he beholds the good and bad deeds of mortals. He is said to be the healer of leprosy. Only three *súktas* in the first book of the *Rig*-veda are addressed to him ; and these "convey no very strikingly expressive acknowledgment of his supremacy." Although the Sun-worship was not prominent, the Indo-Aryans loved light and even warmth, and the sun or the "ray diffuser." The expressions contained in the hymns relating to this deity exhibit a careful and loving observation of Nature. He is spoken of as coming "from a distance," and "removing all sins ;" or as the divine Sun he is supplicated to take away the "sickness of the heart," and the "yellowness of the body."

Savit*ri*, who was originally the autumnal sun, is sometimes distinguished from Súrya ; and is frequently identified with Mitra and Púshan. He is the golden deity, yellow-haired, golden-handed, and golden-tongued. He is the bestower of all desirable things ; and confers blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth. He is said to have bestowed immortality on the gods.

The Asvins are in various texts connected with Súrya. They are the twin sons of Vivasvat and Sara*n*yú ; and are also called the sons of the sky. They are described as young, beautiful, ancient, strong, bright, terrible, and skilful. They bestow food and wealth. They ever occupy themselves with multifarious earthly transac-

tions, enable the worshippers to baffle their enemies, assist them in their need, and extricate them from difficulty. Their business is more earthly than heavenly. They cure the blind, the lame, the emaciated, and the sick. They are besought for different blessings ; for long life, offspring, wealth, victory, destruction of enemies, and forgiveness of sins. The myth of the human A*s*vins has two distinct elements, the one cosmical, and the other human or historical ; which have, in course of time, become blended into one. The cosmical element refers to their luminous nature ; and the human element to the wonderful cures effected by them. They were probably some renowned mortals, horsemen of celebrity, who were admitted on account of their wonderful medical skill to the companionship of the gods.

Tvash*tri* (the Vulcan) is frequently found connected with the *Ri*bhus or ὀρφεύς. He is the divine artisan, the skilful worker, and the creator of all forms. He is also versed in all magical devices. He forges the thunderbolts of Indra. He bestows long life, offspring, wealth, and protection ; and forms husband and wife for each other. He is supplicated to preserve the worshippers. He was also a renowned mortal ; and as a skilful artisan he had been translated into the companionship of the gods. From the conception of Tvash*tri* we can safely conclude that he was the god of the agricultural period.

Soma is the god who plays an important part in the sacrificial act of the Vaidik age. The worship of Soma refers to the feudal and chivalrous times. He is said to be divine, and the soul of sacrifice. He is the king of the gods and of men. He is the lord of creatures ; and the generator of the sky and the earth, of Agni, Súrya,

Indra, and Vish*n*u. He is wise, strong, agile, and thousand-eyed. He beholds all the worlds, and destroys the irreligious. He is immortal, and confers immortality on the gods and on men. He is generous as a father to a son ; and is supplicated to forgive sins. In the post-Vaidik age the name Soma came to be commonly applied to the moon and its regent. Even in the *Ri*g-veda some traces of this application seem to be discoverable.*

Ushas was a goddess of the agricultural period. The connexion of the personified Dawn or Ushas (the Aurora of the Latins and the Ἠώς of the Greeks) with Súrya makes its worship a form of solar adoration. The hymns put up to her, are not wrapped up in mystic language or fantastic allegory. The bracing influence of the dawn and the luculent and other enlivening phenomena associated with day-break, constitute the subject of some of the most beautiful hymns of the *Ri*g-veda poetry ; and out of such grateful phenomena the conception of Ushas arises. Ushas is often connected with the A*s*vins. She is always the same, immortal, and divine. She is represented as the affluent, as the giver of food, and bringer of opulence ; she is invoked to shower on the worshipper riches, horses, cattle, posterity, and troops of slaves ; and she is also celebrated for the numerous and various boons she has bestowed on the pious. She is the young goddess and is the friend of men. She goes

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* x. 85, 2 ff ; and compare, "The transference of the name Soma to the moon, which appears in the later history of the Indian religion, is hitherto obscure : the Vedas hardly know it, nor do they seem to prepare the way for it in any manner."—Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p, 11.

to every house, and does not despise the small. She is the goddess imbued with an excellent intellect; and is constantly described as truthful, and as the fulfiller of her promises. She invigorates the diligent; when she appears, bipeds and quadrupeds are in motion; the winged birds hover in the air; and men who have to earn their bread quit their homes. She rides in a golden chariot, which is large and beautiful. The relation of Ushas to other deities is two-fold, physical and ritual. She is, therefore, frequently declared to be the daughter of the Sky; and, when her parents are referred to, the commentator explains the word as signifying Heaven and Earth. She is further said to be the daughter of Night; but, in some other place she is represented as having Night for her elder sister. Besides, she is the sister of Bhaga, the kinswoman of Varu*n*a, the mistress of the world, and the faithful wife of Súrya.

Parjanya or Perkunas* is the god of thunderstorms and rain. He appears to have been associated with Váta, the blast, and Agni; and was decidedly distinct from Indra. He is called the son of Dyaus, and the father of the Soma plant. He is represented as the lord of all moving creatures. He presides over the lightning, the thunder, the rain; and is said to impregnate the plants.

Brahma*n*aspati or B*ri*haspati is described as the offspring of the two Worlds. He sometimes appears to be identical with Indra; and is sometimes distinguished from Agni. He is styled the father of the gods; and is possessed of all divine attributes. He is bright, pure, clear-voiced, opulent, and a remover of diseases. He is called

* Transact. London Phil. Soc. for 1859, pp. 154 ff.

a priest; and intercedes with the gods on behalf of men. He is the protector of the pious; and saves them from all dangers.

Trita A'ptya, Ahirbudhnya, and Aja Ekapád are minor divinities. Trita is conjoined with the Maruts, with Váta or Váyu and Indra. He is called A'ptya; and his abode is hidden. He bestows long life. Ahirbudhnya is the Dragon of the deep; and resides in the atmospheric ocean. Aja Ekapád is probably a storm-god. Sarasvatí is a goddess of some importance in the *Rig-veda*. She is celebrated both as a river and as a deity. She was indeed primarily a river-deity. She bestows prosperity, wealth, offspring, and fertility. She attends the sacrifices along with the other goddesses: Bháratí Hotrá, Varútrí, Mahí, I*l*á, Dhisha*n*á. Ara*n*yá*n*í is mentioned as the goddess of forest solitude. Anumati or "the moon one digit less than full," Ráká, or "the full moon," Siniválí, or "the last day before the new moon," and Kuhú or Gungú, or "the new moon," are some other goddesses represented in the hymns. Ráká is closely connected with parturition. *S*raddhá is an object of adoration in the morning, at noon, and at sunset. She is the personification of an abstract idea or religious faith. She favors the liberal worshippers of the gods, and imparts faith. Lakshmí and *S*rí do not occur in the hymns in the sense in which they appear in the later mythology. *S*rí is mentioned as issuing forth from Prajápati when he was wrapped up in intense austerity. Aditi, the mother of the A'dityas, is the representative of the universe; Diti her counterpart. Nish*t*igrí is the mother, and Indrá*n*í the wife, of Indra. Pri*s*ni is the mother of the Maruts. Súryá is the daughter of the sun, and the

spouse of the Asvins, or of Soma. Besides these goddesses few others, such as Agnáyí, Varunání, Rodasí, and Aramati are also celebrated in the hymns of the *Rig*-veda.

No reference to tangible things such as stones, shells, bones, and all other fetishes, as objects of worship, has been discovered in the *Rig*-veda. But the semi-tangible objects such as trees, mountains, rivers, the earth, and the sea; and the intangible objects such as the sky, the stars, the fire, the sun, the dawn, the moon, meet us among the so-called deities of the Veda.* The mighty agencies were at first poetically idealized; and thus most of the gods are merely poetical names, names denoting purely sensuous objects; which gradually assumed a divine personality of course never thought of by the original authors. The Indo-Aryans were never taught to subordinate their imagination to their understanding; nor did they ever learn to conquer Nature; they rather easily succumbed to her. Language exercises a tyranny over thought; and abstractions ever became persons. The names not being those of attributes, but of things, appearances, and forces, led the hymnists to personify them; and to create a mythology. They no doubt had originally their material meaning; but gradually they came to be used in the spiritual sense. What was gross in the merely physical idea of a god, was subsequently refined into more spiritual conception. Those names again were sometimes used merely as appellatives; and sometimes as names of gods. It is thus seen that various names were taken from the most impressive phenomena of nature, owing to the utter helplessness of the worship-

* Müller's Hibbert Lectures, p. 198 ff.

pers, to express their ideas as representing the true nature and character of the Deity. Indeed, names after names were invented to express the infinity and the majesty of the Divine; and this only was suggested by the consciousness of the insufficiency of those names that had already been formed and used to convey such ideas in the infantile development of religious conceptions which arose, as it were, from a divine nebula. Epithets applied to almost all the deities are characteristic of a particular period. However, every name was fixed with a distinct purpose; and so had a history full of human interest and of useful lessons. The names were undoubtedly the outcome of restless spirits, who were unceasingly panting after the Unknown God. And, in fact, an idea of a deity under such varying disguises, evinces a great progress of thought. It is thus clear that the idea of God existed in a vague and hazy form; Who was not yet defined or properly named. The Indo-Aryans conceived one god after another; but each was found powerless to satisfy their spiritual cravings. The names given to God gradually came to signify distinct divinities. Indeed, the names, the most original conceptions, of the Deity, are not only widely removed from coarse fetishism, but also from abstract idealism. The origin and growth of the deities of the Veda; therefore, was inevitable. There may be error in all those names; but the simple attempt to give a name was the greatest triumph of the adoring poets; who had a longing for God, who felt kinship between themselves and God,* and who invented names after names to grasp and comprehend him. A name, how-

* *Rig*-veda, ii. 11, 12; viii. 47, 8; viii. 82, 32; x. 142, 1.

ever, is not a hollow name, but has life in it. No name is mere a name. Every name was originally intended for something. Only when it failed to express what it was intended to express, it became a weak or an empty name. And in such names there must have been, as it were, some presentiments of monotheism. They were evidently meant to express the *Beyond*, the *Invisible* behind the Visible, the *Infinite* within the Finite, the *Supernatural* above the Natural, the *Divine*, the *Omnipresent*, and the *Omnipotent*. Man, however, would make and unmake his own conception of the Divine. In pre-historic times the Indo-Aryans fell into polytheism by recognizing God too vividly in his manifestations. In fact, there is but one step from polytheism to monotheism. After ages of polytheism, they had been painfully groping after the Eternal Deity. And we are thus able to examine stage by stage the complex growth of yearnings after truth. The hymns were composed neither in the same age, nor by the same poet, nor did they originate at the same localities, nor under the same circumstances. They are the work of many *Ri*shis and of several centuries. There could be found, therefore, neither much consistency of thought nor of idea in them. As the conceptions of the different poets could be various, so the natures of the gods must have differentiated. Various deities are besought in various hymns, and even in the same hymns. Born of the conscience and the heart, their very names have moral and religious import. They mean Friend, Protector, Beholder, Sympathizer, Benefactor, Giver without prayer. All are truthful, beneficent, gracious, omniscient, omnipotent. All are bestowers of life, inspirers of knowledge. All are invoked for the same blessings; and all

alike are supreme. "None of you, O gods, is small or young. You are all great."* But it is wonderful that there are a great variety of passages in which the most express subordination is assigned to some of the deities. Indra and all other gods are subordinate to Varu*n*a; while Varu*n*a and the rest of gods are subordinate to Indra. There are also a great number of passages in which Agni, Soma, Súrya, Savit*ri*, &c., are similarly spoken of. Again, Indra is most frequently identified with Agni, Varu*n*a, and B*ri*haspati; and Agni, in turn, is also said to be Varu*n*a, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, Savit*ri*, and Púshan. It is true, that there is palpable inconsistency in the genealogy of the gods; but this inconsistency can be easily explained by ascribing it to tribal distinctions. There are also many passages in which the attributes of infinity, omnipotence, and omnipresence are ascribed to each of the gods.† Not only the same epithets, but also various functions are shared in common by various gods. However, the whole nature of these ideal and imaginary gods is still transparent; they are merely names of natural phenomena, and are without being; they are the creatures of man, and not his creators. Here names play with us. It is true, that there was a time when the gods were not names and names only; they were, indeed, real when adorable, and adored by the old poets of the Veda. But, there was a period in the history of the ancient religion of India, when they turned away in despair from the fire, the sky, the dawn, the sun; and for the first time tried to find what is greater and higher

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* *Rig*-veda, viii. 30, 1.

† Ibid, x, 90, 1 ff; x. 121, 1 ff.

than the gods, the true Self of the world. They now perceived that the gods were names and nothing but names. The consciousness that all the deities are but different names of one and the same godhead is manifest in some ofthe hymns of the Veda. In one hymn it is distinctly stated that the gods, though differently named and represented, are really one and the same; but men call them by different names; and the poets represent the one and the same god in different forms:—"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varu*n*a, Agni; and (he is) the well-winged, celestial Garutmat (Garothman of the Zand-Avesta). Sages name variously that which is but one :–they call it Agni, Yama, Mátari*s*van."* Savit*ri* is the supporter of the sky and the lord of creatures.† Varu*n*a is said to be the lord of all, of gods and of men, of heaven and earth.‡ Indra is also conceived as the supreme god;§ and as regards the character and functions of Tvash*tri* we have an approach to the idea of a supreme creator of the universe. According to the Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a the gods attained their divine rank by austerity.|| They are said to possess in an eminent degree the qualities of the *R*ishis; and so they are styled Kavi, *R*ishi, etc.¶ This possibly implies that the *R*ishis thought they possessed particular knowledge of the deities, with whom

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 164, 46; see also Colebrooke's Essay, i. 26 f; Weber's Indische Studien, v. p. iv.

† Ibid, iv. 53, 2.

‡ Ibid, i. 25, 20; ii. 27, 10.

§ Ibid, vii. 32.

|| Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, iii. p. 276.

¶ *Rig*-veda, v. 29, 1; vi. 14, 2; viii, 6, 41; viii. 16, 7; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

they believed they had an affinity. "Indeed, the relations between the Vaidik Aryans and their deities appear to have been of a childlike and filial character; the evils which they suffered, they ascribed to some offence of omission or commission which had been given to a deity; whilst the good which they received was in like manner ascribed to his kindness and favor."* The deities of the primitive Vaidik times represented not only the conspicuous processes of external nature; but also the higher relations of moral aud social life. The songs with which the Indo-Aryans invoked the gods clearly show that they sought them for their spiritual as well as for their material welfare. Ethical considerations are not, therefore, wholly alien to these natural outbursts of the pious mind. The distinction between good and bad was clearly made in a moral sense; and law and virtue were also recognized.† Sin and evil are often adverted to; and the gods are extolled because they destroy sinners and evil-doers.‡ Even the idea of personal sin is to be met with in the Black Yajush. "May our sins be removed" or "repented of" is the burden of several hymns in the *Rik* (i, 97; ii. 24, 5; ii. 33, 6; vii. 32, 9; viii. 13, 15); and there is only one other hymn in which the hymnist prays to be absolved not only from his own sins, but also from the sins of his fathers (vii. 86). One poet prays that the waters may wash him clean and carry off all his sins.§ However, it is not very difficult to have the idea as

* Wheeler's History of India. i. p. 13.

† *Rig*-veda, ii. 28, 5; ii. 29, 1,

‡ Ibid, i. 35, 3, 11; i. 36, 14; i. 115, 6; ii. 27, 14; and see also Johnson's Oriental Religions, p. 119.

§ *Rig*-veda, i. 23, 22; Atharva-veda, iv. 16; Satapatha-bráhma*n*a, ii. 2, 2, 19; iii. 1, 2, 10; Taittiríy-ára*n*yaka, x. 9.

to the notion of sin or of repentance held by some, though not by all of the Vaidik poets, when it is an undeniable fact that some among them distinctly acknowledged the two eternal principles of Good and Evil. The poets undoubtedly believed that the gods punish and forgive sins. The two ideas of justice and mercy are also to be met with in the hymns.* However, there are some hymns in the *Rik*, which depart materially from the simplicity of the conceptions here alluded to.

Our Aryan progenitors carried with them their religion and worship, when they started from their primitive home, and spread themselves over various parts of the world. Therefore, among the different branches of the family there is to be found a great harmony which once subsisted in their original worship and in the names of God and of the gods,—all expressive of natural powers, such as the sun, the dawn, heaven and earth, fire, the atmosphere, and the elements under various aspects.† Indeed, the Indo-Aryans, the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, the Keltics at one time worshipped the same gods. Although Indo-Aryan mythology is extravagant and ridiculous, and has an icy coldness of meaning in it; yet those mythological dreams have an enduring symbolic value, and stand as data for primitive history. The Indo-Aryans early speculated largely on matters supernatural; and their religion was an important feature of their civilisation. The Vaidik religion, in all its aspects, is the true expression of the view, which our simple-minded but highly gifted ancestors, imbued

* Müller's Chips, i. p. 39.

† Müller's Science of Religion, p. 159.

with deep religious feelings, took of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature. It is beyond the reach of reasonable doubt that it originated in the minds of single individuals, whether inspired or not inspired; and that it was not elaborated by the united efforts of a whole people. We, therefore, find in the hymns opposite dogmas and sentiments. The religious ideas, though originated in the minds of single individuals, subsequently changed their forms as they passed from mind to mind. Indeed, they passed through many phases, and ultimately became corrupted. In the hymns, there is a deep awakening of the religious sentiment, and a sense of the Divine. In all the objects of nature, our ancestors beheld either the primary causes of them, or the visible types of the mysterious, invisible, Great Cause. But once the religious faculty is roused, the human mind, which is subtle, introversive, and contemplative, can never be satisfied with the mere idea that the elements are the sole causes of creation; and so it must go on to spiritualize the gigantic forms of nature by which we are surrounded; and as to the extent to which the beautiful conceptions of poetic fancy are carried, religion must of necessity become fetichism, pantheism, or polytheism. And polytheism can only be the result when each spirit is allowed to assume a distinct form, having distinct attributes peculiarly worthy of that spirit. In the oldest hymns, there are few traces to be found of abstract conceptions of the Deity. They apparently disclose the primitive stage of the religious belief of simple men; who, under the influence of the most wonderful phenomena of nature, felt everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers; and who

had not then risen to a clear idea of one Supreme God. Our ancestors imagined that each of the provinces of the universe was controlled and regulated by each of the deities; and this is clearly shown by the special functions assigned to them, and by the very names under which they are designated.

The Vedas contain no real system; they never classify or define the objects of worship. This, however, was done at last by commentators, who seem to have generally misunderstood the religion taught in them. Every object in the universe awed our earliest forefathers, and roused them from stolid wonderment to think and ponder on the greatest problems of life; and, thus in the childhood of their faith, they looked for the infinite in the moon, in the sun, in the sky, in the storm, and in a flash of lightning. And so they first called it the wielder of the thunderbolt, the giver of rain, the bringer of light, the bestower of food and life; and at last the creator, king, father, and the god of gods. All this we see in one great evolution of religious thought, as no concept is possible without a name. All that we see is that they felt the presence of God in every object they beheld in the universe; and that they tried to rise from nature up to nature's God. Indeed, we see a real transition from the known to the Unknown, from the visible to the Invisible, from the finite to the Infinite. In fact, the Infinite underlies the finite. However, it is really impossible to give a name to the religion of the *Rishis*. They used words which are always extremely important, both psychologically and historically. But we cannot use them now in their etymological meanings, nor in the senses which must

have passed at one time through an historical evolution. Faith, worship, hope, and reverence for the gods—all this was religion to them. Terms relating to faith. sacrifice, and adoration prove a sincere and fervent religious sentiment. But we cannot characterize the ancient Vaidik religion as Henotheism or Kathenotheism ;* it is impossible to find a general name for it. Aye, it has hardly a name. There are numerous passages in the *Rig*-veda, in many of which decidedly a monotheistic, and in many others essentially a pantheistic tendency is very clearly manifested. In the later stage of reflection our ancestors very possibly made approximations to monotheistic tendencies; those approximations could only be weak and sporadic; and thus such a speculative monotheism was, of necessity, of a barren and shadowy character. In the hymns, there are traces of human conceptions, human aspirations, human wisdom, and human folly. They have their material and spiritual aspect ; they are at once vaguely pantheistic, severely monotheistic, grossly polytheistic, and coldly atheistic. They contain but the common principle of all the four. Some of the hymns are monotheistic as they recognize the existence of one personal God ; some are polytheistic as they do not deny multiple divinity ; some are pantheistic as they reject the per-

* "Henotheistic religions differ from polytheistic because, although they recognise the existence of various deities, or names of deities, they represent each deity as independent of all the rest, as the only deity present in the mind of the worshippers at the time of his worship and prayer. This character is very prominent in the religion of the Vaidik poets."—Müller's Science of Religion, p. 141.

sonality of a Creator and hold every thing to be God; and others are atheistic as they deny an absolute eternal Supreme Being. This pre-historic star-dust of all the systems may properly be called pantheism not in its exclusive sense. It is not philosophical abstraction but intense realization. M. Barth justly observes that "India is radically pantheistic, and that from its cradle onwards."* The polytheism of the Vedas like their pantheism is in the free, plastic age. The complicated polytheism which we find in the hymns is but the full development of polytheism of anterior centuries. It is evident that monotheism was never the starting point of the Vaidik system. We cannot conceive at the first stage of thought of the unity existing under the diversity; and such a conception as the first fruit of theosophic philosophy, is decidedly of later growth, and the result of subsequent reflection and comparison. We are, therefore, led to believe that monotheism never preceded polytheism. Man acquires the idea of a Divine Being by observation and reflection. Polytheism, then, is necessarily antecedent to monotheism; which, in other words, grew out of the belief in many gods. When the human spirit is once gifted with clear ideas of the unity of nature and of its Author; it is not possible that it should ignore that original cognition, and betake itself to the vagaries of naturalism, and to the worship of the multifarious deities of the proper Vaidik Olympus. Whether the Indo-Aryans began with monotheism is not a question frought with much interest or importance;

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* Religions of India, p. 8. See also *Ṛig*-veda, i. 89, 10; and compare Orphic Fragm. iv. 363; vi. 366; Virgil, Æneid, vi. 724, &c.

but the far more important and far more instructive question is, how on the first awakening of their senses, they arrived at the concept of the Divine. However, it is not very difficult to know when and how they arrived at a stage of thought when they were able to find the predicate God. The evidence of this, which we call the historical evolution of the Vaidik religion, is accessible in almost all the hymns contained in the Veda.

The ideas of entity and non-entity were very well familiar to the *Ṛishis*.* In the 90th hymn of the tenth book of the *Ṛig*-veda, the unity of the Godhead is recognized, although in a clearly pantheistic sense. We see elsewhere the sun, the sky, and the earth were at one time considered as natural objects generated by the gods; and at another time as themselves the gods who created all things. Some scholars have gone so far as to assert that the idea of one God breaks through the mist of a polytheistic and an idolatrous phraseology. This is a mistake. The human mind in its natural operation strives to reduce all objects and events to unity and harmony, and to trace everything to a single source;† and until there could be made sufficient progress towards the knowledge of the unity and harmony of this marvellous universe, it is not possible for men to attain to a real conception of the unity of the Godhead. Oneness of God, however, does not exclude the idea of plurality of gods. There was no word yet to express the abstract idea of an immaterial and supernatural Being. The

* *Ṛig*-veda, x. 72.

† Flint's Anti-Theistic Theories, p. 410.

attributes of supremacy and omnipotence ascribed to one god did by no means exclude the admission of gods or names of gods. And it is also clear from the hymns that the poets never thought of other gods when they individually addressed their own god. But, in some cases, this idea is not compatible with the worship of two in the dual, as Mitrá-varu*n*au, Indrá-somau, Somá-rudrau, Indra-pusha*n*au, Parjanya-vátau, Agni-somau, Indra-váyú, Indra-b*ri*haspati, etc.; or, many in one group in the plural, as the Vi*s*ve-devá*h* and the Maruts. The Vaidik hymns in one sense, are both physiolatrous and polytheistic. The age in which they were composed, as appears clearly from the Bráhma*n*as, or directories for their use in the Brahma sacrifices, was followed by a palpable deterioration in the thought and feeling of the Indo-Aryans. At first, the polytheism was simple. "The polytheistic idea, however, when once it had begun to work, would tend constantly to multiply the number of divinities, as we see it has already done in the Vaidik age."* There never was nor could be a pure polytheism or a pure monotheism. It is beyond doubt, that the human mind, in proportion to its power of observation and reflection, advances towards monotheism. But, it is to be confessed that such transition takes place very tardily, and is often obstructed by tradition and habit. We must not place at the commencement that which ought to be placed at the very end. However, it is clear that our ancestors were polytheists before their separation; and they could never completely forget what they once learnt and brought with them as a heritage from their original home. Such

* Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes, ii. pp. 708 ff.

teaching, which again they had left as a legacy, had acted, upon the whole, most potently on the minds of their descendants from generation to generation; until the proper philosophical age dawned, and the Upanishads were composed and their doctrines had taken ground. But the influence of such philosophical writings has been in no way complete or permanent; and their attempts at the obliteration at once from the mind, of polytheistic principles, were far from being successful.

The Indo-Aryans had not attained to a clear and logical comprehension of the characteristics which they themselves ascribed to the objects of their worship. The conceptions of the Godhead indicated in the hymns are of a fluctuating and undecided character. The remarkable representations of a host of subordinate objects of worship, exhibit to us a conception of the universe by our ancestors, which was mythical, sacramental, polytheistic, and even pantheistic. In the childhood of the world, the Indo-Aryans possessing simple and reflective minds solved the mysterious and difficult problem of the production of the existing universe in various ways. They entertained a great number of different conjectures with regard to cosmogony. As the case may be, they ascribed it sometimes to physical, and sometimes to spiritual powers. And as speculation gradually acquired vigour, different opinions asserted themselves; and they naturally became perplexed; and one of them asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth? Inquire with your minds, ye sages, what was that on which he (Visvakarman) took his stand when supporting the world?"*

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* *Ri*g-veda, x. 81, 4; see also Taittiríya-bráhma*n*a, ii. 8, 9, 6.

Another poet asks, "Which of these two was the first, and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?"* As speculations were further carried on, they gradually arrived at the idea of the universe having sprung out of darkness and a pre-existing chaos;† and this notion could have presented itself to them only by the changes which constantly occurred before their eyes in the universe. This doctrine is propounded in one of the later hymns of the *Ri*g-veda.‡ But in numerous other hymns, we meet with various speculations about the origin of the heaven and the earth. The creation of them is sometimes ascribed to Indra, and sometimes to other deities, such as Soma, Púshan, Dhát*ri*, and Hira*n*yagarbha. And it is also said that they have received their shape from Tvash*tri*, and have sprung from the head and the feet of Purusha; and are supported by Mitra, Varu*na*, Indra, Agni, Savit*ri*, and Soma. Elaborate theories of creation are not to be found in the earlier portions of the hymns;§ and it is remarkable that even the *Ri*shis themselves confess their ignorance of the beginning of all things.‖

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 185, 1.

† Compare Genesis, i. 1. Here the meaning of the verb *bará* is rendered by "created." But it simply conveys the sense of mere fashioning or arranging; and does by no means signify an *ex nihilo creation.* There is to be found nowhere any trace of the meaning attributed to it by later scholars of a creation out of no thing. According to the Jewish commentators it does not represent so. However, the idea is altogether a modern idea; and to transfer a modern idea to the mind of Moses is simply absurd.

‡ *Rig*-veda, x. 129.

§ Ibid, i. 67, 3; vii, 86, 1. ‖ Ibid, i. 164, 4; x. 81, 4.

There is a hymn in the tenth book of the *Rig*-veda, of a long antecedent period, of philosophical thought in which we find the conception of a beginning of all things, and of a state, before all things were created. In the beginning, there was nothing, no sky, no firmament. No space there was, no life, no time, no difference between day and night. "Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled in gloom profound, as ocean without light." There was only the deep abyss, a chaotic mass, which swallowed every thing. "That one," the poet says, "breathed, and lived; it enjoyed more than mere existence; yet its life was not dependent on ony thing else, as our life depends on the air which we breathe. It breathed breathless." Max Müller says "language blushes at such expressions, but her blush is a blush of triumph." The creation is sometimes said to be the manifestation of His will; and a mere evolution of one substance. The idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of undeveloped matter, became the foundation of the Sánkhya philosophy. They clearly distinguished the principle of spiritual existence; and also made a distinction between concrete existence and abstract being. To them, the soul was not merely a vital breath, but also a thinking being.*

The history of mankind clearly shows that man is essentially religious; and the belief in the unseen spiritual world has its foundation in our nature. In the hymns, we trace the beginnings of religious life; and it is not difficult to separate the truly religious elements

* Pictet's Origines Indo-Européennes,, ii. pp. 539-546, 749.

contained in them from the mythological crust with which they are surrounded. The high-water marks of the radical elements of real religion, such as an intuition of God, a sense of human weakness, and a feeling of dependence on God, a belief in a divine government of the world, a distinction between good and evil, and a hope of a better life, which formed part of the oldest dowry of the human soul, break forth in the *Rig*-veda. But, the earlier portions of the *Rik* allude very little to a future state; and references to a future state of punishment in all the Vedas are few and far between; and again those references are very obscure. Our ancestors had no contempt for all things beneath the sun; nor had they any dislike for this existence with all its vicissitudes and miseries. So they longed for continuation of life, and death by no other cause than by old age; and also thought of this life as a preparation for a new existence in the world of the departed where to enjoy eternal bliss. They, however, had no idea of retribution after death; and it was their simple faith that the new existence would be merely a continuation of the old age; though under changed conditions. There also appears the simple belief that the life in this world is not the last of man; but, after death, he is to go to a place of happiness above.* In a passage we

* Prof. Roth, after extracting several passages from the *Rik* in which a belief in immortality is clearly conveyed, says with great force,—"We here find, not without astonishment, beautiful conceptions on immortality, expressed in unadorned language with child-like conviction. If it were necessary, we might here find the most powerful weapons against the view which has lately been revived, and proclaimed as new, that Persia was the only birth-place

read that the highest object of life is to restore that bond which links self to the Eternal Self.* There also occurs a passage about the I (=Sat or the τὸ ὄν of the ancients, and not *ex sistere* of the occidental metaphysicians) and the Not-I (=*asat* or the τὸμ ἠὄν ; which clearly shows that, that philosophical dogma was known to the Indo-Aryans at so early a period.†

In the ninth and tenth *mandalas* of the *Rig*-veda, there are some distinct references made to a future life. Besides these, there are other texts which indicate the same belief. The consciousness of sin is the prominent characteristic of the religion of the Veda. It is said that the gods take away from man the burden of his sins.‡ The idea of faith is also found in the *Rig*-veda ;§ and that faith again is sometimes associated with true scepticism.|| In the Veda, there are to be found certain passages in which occurs not only the idea of immortality of the soul, of personal immortality, but also of personal responsibility after death (i. 125, 56). That immortality was gained by a son is mentioned in one

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of the idea of immortality, and that even the nations of Europe had derived it from that quarter ; as if the religious spirit of every gifted race was not able to arrive at it by its own strength."—Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. p. 427 ; Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts, v. p. 301.

* *Rig*-veda, x. 129, 4.

† Ibid, x. 11, 1 : नासदासीन्नोसदासीत्तदानीम् । Compare Taittiríya-bráhmana, ii. p. 923.

‡ Ibid, i. 25, 21 ; i. 162, 22 ; ii. 27, 4 ; iv. 12, 4 ; v. 82, 6 ; vii. 87, 7 ; vi. 93, 7 ; viii. 48, 9 ; x. 25, 3.

§ Ibid, i. 102, 2 ; i. 108, 6 ; i. 104, 6 ; i. 55, 5 ; ii. 26, 3 ; x. 151.

|| Ibid, viii. 100, 3.

passage of the Veda;* and one poet prays that he may again see his father and mother after death.† It is also said that immortality is secured even by a son.‡ The gods are said to have established the eternal laws of right and wrong; and they punish sin and reward virtue. Morality and religion were closely connected. But still the enjoyments of a future life are to be understood most probably as of a sensual kind.§ The gods themselves were regarded as subject to the influence of carnal appetites.|| Some of the hymns attribute to the gods sentiments and passions, such as anger, revenge, and delight in sacrifices; and represent man with all the desires and weaknesses of his nature. Immunity from taxation is held out as the greatest boon to be received in the next world.¶ A funeral hymn offered to Agni** contains some verses which fully give the views of the writer on future life. The *pitris*, or fathers of families, who have departed this life and passed to a state of blessedness, are represented as objects of adoration to their descendants. The word ancestral sacrifice is mentioned only once in the *Rig*-veda (x. 16, 10). The fathers are supplicated almost like the gods†† (x. 15,

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* *Rig*-veda, vii. 56, 24.

† Ibid, i. 24, 1; compare Atharva-veda, xii. 3, 17.

‡ Ibid, vii. 56, 24; compare Gopatha-bráhmana, i. 1, 2.

§ Ibid, ix. 113, 7 ff; compare Atharva-veda, iv. 34, 2.

|| Ibid, iii. 53, 6; Atharva-veda, xiv. 2, 31 f.

¶ Atharva-veda, iii. 29, 3.

** *Rig*-veda, x. 16.

†† In the Veda, the *pitris* or fathers are invoked together with the gods; but they are not confounded with them.—*Rig*-veda, vi. 52, 4.

16); worship and oblations are offered to them;* and they are said to enjoy in the company of the gods, a life of eternal felicity.† The manes are called *pitaras* in Zand. It is said, that there exist three heavens,‡ of which the *pitris* occupy the highest. The Vaidik doctrine of the *pitris* chimes in with the Greek (the τὰ δικαια or τα νόμιμα) and the Roman (the *Justa facere* or *ferre*) doctrine about the manes. This worship of ancestors, or spirits of the dead, was from an extremely remote antiquity "one of the principal sources of public and private right, one of the bases of the family and the civic community."§ In certain passages of the *Ṛig*-veda, the word *manas* is found to be used for the soul, or the animating principle, which is never annihilated after the termination of earthly existence.‖ *A'tman* is also employed in several portions of the *Ṛig*-veda for the living principle; and in some places the sun is addressed as the soul of all things changeable or unchangeable.¶ Some texts refer indistinctly to the punishment of the wicked.** In the Atharva-veda the adjective form of

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* *Ṛig*-veda, x. 15, 2, 9; see also on the Offerings to the *Pitris*, Colebrooke's Essay on the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus.—Miscellaneous Essays, i. pp. 180 ff.

† *Ṛig*-veda, x. 15, 1; Atharva-veda, xviii. 2, 49.

‡ Atharva-veda, xviii. 2, 48.

§ Barth's Religions of India, p. xv.

‖ *Ṛig*-veda, x. 58, 1. Compare Atharva-veda, xviii. 2, 23:—"Let thy soul (*manas*) go to its own and hasten to the fathers." The mind (*manas*) is regarded by the Hindu philosophers as distinct from the soul.

¶ *Ṛig*-veda, i. 115, 1; ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8; ix. 85, 3.

** Ibid, iv. 5, 5; vii. 104, 3; ix. 73, 8.

the usual word for hell (*náraka loka*) occurs: and that region is described as the future abode of the illiberal.*

From the *Rig*-veda we learn that the *Ri*shis had conceived the idea of the soul being immortal.† There is a prayer of Va*s*ish*th*a addressed to Varu*n*a (vii. 86), which clearly shows the indestructibility of the spirit. There are also some passages which refer to the souls of deceased ancestors as still existing in another world.‡ It is scarcely to be expected that in such primitive times they would have very clear ideas on this subject; but it is after all worthy of notice that long before Greece and Rome became cultivated communities, when Europe was the home of uncivilised barbarians, the *Ri*shis had some conception of this doctrine. Modern psychologists cannot teach us more than what was taught by our ancestors some thousand years ago. In the Bráhma*n*as immortality is promised to those who rightly understand and regularly practise the rites of sacrifice. Those who are deficient in this respect, and who depart to the next world before the expiration of the natural term of life, are weighed there in a balance.§ The doctrine of the Bráhma*n*as is that after death all are born again in the next world, where they are recompensed according to their deeds; the good being rewarded, and the wicked punished.|| But elsewhere the heaven is said to belong only to the Brahmans.¶

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* xii. 4, 36.

† *Rig*-veda, i. 22.

‡ Ibid, i. 36, 18,; iii. 55, 2; vi. 52, 4.

§ *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, xi. 2, 7, 33. Compare Proverbs, xvi, 2.

|| Ibid, vi. 2, 2, 27; x. 6, 3, 1; xi. 7, 2, 23.

¶ Atharva-veda, x. 8, 1.

There are very few passages in the Bráhma*n*as, which proclaim the idea of absorption in the deity such as we find in the Upanishads. But, from a passage in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, we learn how in the next world the animals and plants devour men who, make a repast of them in this state of existence; unless they are resuscitated to life by the performance of usual ceremonies and sacrifices.* The word *práyaschitta* by which expiation or atonement is implied, does not occur in the songs of the *Ri*g-veda. But it occurs often in the Bráhma*n*as and in the Sútras in the sense of a means for removing a grievance, or averting an evil; and not in the sense of an atonement for a sin committed.

In the *Ri*g-veda Yama is nowhere described in the same manner as in the later mythology.† Yama was the Nekropompos of the Aryan race. He is not represented there as a terrible being; but as the ruler of the dead, possessing a beneficent character. The office of judging the dead is not assigned to Yama in the *Ri*g-veda. Yama is said to grant to the departed souls a resting place where they may enjoy eternal happiness.‡ Still he is to a certain extent an object of terror and horror. And in a passage of the Atharvan death is said to be his messenger, who conveys the spirits of men to the abode of their forefathers.§ He is also said to have two insatiable dogs with four eyes, and wide nostrils,

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* xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.

† Wilson's Vish*n*u-purá*n*a, p. 216 of Dr. Hall's ed. vol. ii.

‡ Whitney's Oriental and Linguistic Studies, p. 45.

§ xviii. 2, 27.

which guard the road to his abode ;* and he is asked to protect the departed from them.† The body which the soul is to take again in the next world, cannot be the same one which has undergone cremation, or has been buried in the earth ; it may not even be one similar to it, because he is to live henceforth in the company of divine spirits ; and so must have such a body as to have a right of place among them.‡ It is said that the deceased will take his new body, a shining and all glorious spiritual body.§ Nowhere in the *Rig*-veda is any trace discoverable of metempsychosis ;‖ which was, no doubt, gradually developed in India itself ; but never was it introduced from any foreign country.¶ But, on the contrary, it is promised, as the highest reward, that the pious shall

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* *Rig*-veda, x. 14, 10-12 ; and also on the origin of the myth about Kerberos, see Mitra's Indo-Aryans, ii. pp. 156-165.

† Ibid, x. 14, 11.

‡ Roth's article on the Morality of the Vedas in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. p. 343. This paper is, in many respects, very interesting. But there is a ludicrous inconsistency staring us in the face. Poor Yama is charged with the attempt to seduce his sister Yami. The fact as the *Rig*-veda (x. 10) gives it was the reverse. The *sister* longed for cohabition with her brother, and arguing for his consent to her wishes. Strange, that Dr. Roth did not correct it. The story of Yama and Yamí, however, is a satire on the practice of marriages between brothers and sisters, which was in vogue during the nomadic stage of civilisation. And not as others say that Yama and Yami were the first progenitors of man ; however, they were brother and sister only in the same sense as Adam and Eve were.

§ *Rig*-veda, x. 14, 8.

‖ Wilson's *Rig*-veda, iii. p. xiii. Müller's Chips, i. p. 45.

¶ Benfey's Orient und Occident, iii. p. 169 f.

again be born in the next world with his earthly body.* In certain passages, a hope is also held out that the family relations will be maintained in the next world.† However, there are passages in the later portion in which it is said that after the dissolution of the body the soul goes to tenant the waters or the plants.‡

How the primitive religion and worship of the Indo-Aryans gradually changed and became more and more elaborate and complicated, may be best known from the Vedas themselves. In a history of ancient Sa*m*skr*i*t literature the Mantra period is the most interesting and most important in a philosophical point of view. In the Mantra period, the state of society being simple, religious worship was necessarily so. Now the *Ri*shis were the priests of their own families to which they imparted religious instructions ; and for which they conducted the daily worship. But, in process of time, such a religious worship underwent a gradual but marked change. And as soon as we step into the Bráhma*n*a period, we observe the gross superstitious character which that primitive religion and worship gradually assumed. In this period a priesthood was systematically created ; and nothing could be done without a priest.

A'svaláyana says that there were four chief priests ; each having three subordinate priests under him.§ And these sixteen officiating priests are commonly called by

* *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, iv. 6, 1, 1 ; xi. 1, 8, 6 ; xii. 8, 3, 31.

† Atharva-veda, xii. 3, 17 ; vi. 120, 3.

‡ *Ri*g-veda. x. 58 ; 16, 3.

§ *S*rauta-sútra, iv. 1. See also Kátyáyana's *S*rauta-sútra, vii. 1, 6.

the general term of *Ritvij.** There were also a compliment of assistants of these sixteen priests, who of course did not rank as *Ritvij.* The Kaushítakins alone admit the so-called Sadasyas into the *Ritvij,* whose sole business was to superintend all the sacrifices. The complicated nature of the ceremonial necessitated the distribution of the sacrificial duties among several distinct classes of priests. The priests had peculiar duties to perform, which are prescribed in the Bráhma*n*as. The Adhvaryus had to recite the verses of the Yajur-veda, to measure the ground, to build the *vedi,* or altar, to make the sacrificial vessels, to fetch wood and water, to light the fire, to bring the animal and immolate it. And certainly they constituted the lowest class of priests, The Udgát*ri*s had to chant the songs of the Sáma-veda, and to act as the chorus. The peculiar duty of the Hot*ri*s was to recite in a distinct and loud voice certain verses of the *Ri*g-veda in praise of the deities during the time of sacrifices. The Hot*ri*s were, no doubt, by far the most highly educated class of priests. The Brahmá had to watch over these three classes of priests, and to remedy any defect which might affect the efficacy of the sacrifice. And the *Ri*g-veda itself in one of its latest portions, recognises the superiority of the Brahmá priest. He was supposed to know the whole ceremonial, and all the three Vedas used by the Hot*ri*s, Adhvaryus, and Udgát*ri*s.† The office of a Brahmá priest, however,

* Roth's Sa*m*sk*ri*t and German Dictionary *sub voce ri*tvij where the appellations of the sixteen kinds of priests are given. See also the passage in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, xii. 2, et. there referred to.

† Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 469 ff.

was not a birth right; but every priest could obtain it by assiduous and unremitting study, great ability, and superior ingenuity. The most ancient name of a professional priest was Purohita (literally, a foreman); and he was a minister of public worship. He was the counsellor of a chief, and the minister of a king, and his companion, too, in peace and war. The kings not unoften sought his spiritual services to invoke the favor of the gods, in order to secure success to their warlike expeditions. However, the original institution of a Purohita must not be accepted as a sign of a far advanced hierarchical system. But his office was undoubtedly regarded as a divine institution. Va*s*ish*th*a was the bard of the T*ri*tsus, and Vi*s*vámitra of the Bharatas, who were the great enemies of the T*ri*tsus.* Vi*s*vámitra had once been the bard of the T*ri*tsus;† but he probably joined the Bharatas to revenge himself against his former friends.‡ The chief occupation of the Purohita was simply to perform the ordinary sacrifices; but his office also partook of a political character. The ancient appellations of the theologians of the *Ri*k as Bahv*ri*chas, those

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* *Ri*g-veda, vii. 33, 6.

† Ibid, iii 53, 24.

‡ Vi*s*vámitra, says Signor de Gubernatis (in the Rivista Orientale, i. pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), is to be understood as one of the names of the sun; and as both the person who holds the name, and Indra are the sons of Ku*s*ika, they must be brothers. Va*s*ish*th*a is the greatest of the Vasus, and means Agni, the solar fire, and points out, like Vi*s*vámitra, to the sun. Sudása signifies the horse of the sun, or the sun himself. Ancient Indian tradition speaks of both Vi*s*vámitra and Va*s*ish*th*a as real historical personages. His theory, therefore, is quite untenable.

of the Sáman as Chhandogas, and of the Yajush as Adhvaryus, are to be found in the Sa*m*hitá of the Black Yajush and in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a. The Black Yajush applies the term Adhvaryus to its own adherents, whilst their opponents are called Charakádhvaryus. This natural hostility is also clearly shown in a passage of the Sa*m*hitá of the White Yajush.* But this spirit of hostility was not confined exclusively to the different schools of the Yajur-veda ; the followers of the Atharva-veda seem to have betrayed similar sectarian jealousies towards the adherents of the other Vedas.†

The term Brahman originally denoted a devout worshipper or a contemplative sage or poet, who composed hymns in praise of the gods. But after the ceremonial of worship became highly developed and complicated; and the sacred functions became quite distinct from other occupations; the epithet gradually came to be employed for a minister of religion, and at last it came to signify one particular class of priests with certain special duties. Then the hierarchy of the Brahmans was completely organised. Though now priesthood formed an exclusive caste, which for the most part became an hereditary order ; ‡ yet those among other classes that aspired to sacerdotal functions and privileges, were also admitted to the same order. Of course, as a class, some of them were intelligent, some unintelligent, some

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* Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 87 ; Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 350.

† Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 296.

‡ Zimmer's Altindisches Leben, p. 194 *seq* ; Muir's Sanskrit Texts, i. p. 239 *seq*.

thoughtful, and some as mere mechanical instruments at the celebration of ceremonial worship.* The religious service for its advanced nature required some kind of training for the sacerdotal office. However, great benefits are said to have resulted from the employment of priests† as their presence was deemed an essential condition of the efficacy of the ritual acts; and even the highest efficacy is said to result from their intercession.‡ The ardent belief in the efficacy of ceremonial worship which breathes through most of the hymns of the *Rig*-veda, must have insured to the priest a very great amount of reverence on the part of the people. Liberality to them is also mentioned with approbation.§ A superhuman power was ascribed to the priests;|| and curses were fulminated against their oppressors.¶ They often urged their claims on the consideration of the powerful and the wealthy; and never missed to plead his own cause along with that of his employer, while engaged in invoking the blessings of the gods on the pious worshipper.** But the comparison of frogs to them implies a total disregard for them and for their functions††. The sacred and divinely consecrated majesty of the priests was not unfrequently assailed by the

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* *Rig*-veda, viii. 50, 9.

† Atharva-veda, iii. 19.

‡ *Rig*-veda, vii. 83, 4.

§ Ibid, i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 47; 22 ff.

|| Atharva-veda, xix. 9, 12; xix. 43, 8.

¶ Ibid, xii. 5.

** *Rig*-veda, viii. 2, 13.

†† Ibid, vii. 103.

ungodly; and consequently they had to encounter much difficulty to enforce a due regard which they themselves attached to the performance of religious rites. And we thus find a long list of condemnatory epithets applied to those persons who were the deniers of the gods, and who were averse to the rites. The Kalpa works enjoin that the Hotri is to perform his duties with the *Rik*, the Udgátri with the Sáman, the Adhvaryu with the Yajush, and the Brahmá with all the three Vedas.

Religion is nothing without a worship and without a cultus; and, in fact, the origin and growth of sacrifice is an important page in the history of the human mind. The chapter on sacrifices may be dull, monotonous, and uninteresting; but, by a critical examination of them, we are enabled to determine step by step the different stages of civilisation, through which the eastern branch of the whole Aryan family passed. The sacrificial system distinctly refers to four different periods of civilisation. Some sacrifices, no doubt, belong to the pastoral stage of civilisation; some to the agricultural stage of civilisation; some attest to the chivalrous character of the times. The Smárta-sacrifices were such as properly belonged to the pastoral and the agricultural stages of civilisation. During the pastoral and agricultural periods, a sacrifice was a reality. The bundles of sacrificial grass, the mode of baking a sacrificial cake, the importance uniformly attached to mortars, pestles, sieves, and wooden vessels for keeping flour or dairy produce, the milking of cows, the way in which a dairy-maid's occupation was symbolized,—all these unmistakeably attest to the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilisation,

The *S*rauta-sacrifices could be performed only by a prosperous community at once chivalrous and enterprising. The Smárta-sacrifice which introduces all sacrifices, is the model of such *S*rauta-sacrifices as those of the new and full moon; the latter is the model of the Agnish*t*oma, which is again the model of all Soma-sacrifices in which the *S*rauta-sacrifices culminated; and in this way we can easily establish a general sequence of sacrifices. The Soma-sacrifice belonged to the period of chivalry; and the *Ri*g-veda also abounds in passages which at once exhibit the chivalrous character of the times. The system of Vaidik sacrifices throws an immense light on many a dark point in the history of the Indo-Aryans; and there is no doubt that the sacrifices, upon the whole, exercised a most potent influence upon their social and religious polity. Indeed, the sacrificial system was the soul of civilisation. During one period a nation is found to be guided by one sole idea. So the Indo-Aryans of this period were under the influence of one idea, and it was sacrifice. In the performance of sacrifices philosophy, literature, and different branches of knowledge, trade and commerce, manufactures, military valour, and tilling of the soil, were all brought into requisition. The sacrifices made the Indo-Aryans renowned, and gave them a social status. It is not every one that could perform a sacrifice. A certain social status was absolutely indispensable. Sacrifices were not all for the first time instituted in India; but a good many were brought from their cradle in Central Asia, where they must have passed through those stages before emigration took place. Certainly in India those rites and ceremonies

underwent radical and very extensive changes. Some of the sacrifices, notably the Soma-sacrifice and the animal-sacrifice, belong to the common Indo-Iranian period as it appears from the marvellous coincidence between the A'prí hymns and the A'frí-gan of the Pársí ritual.* Before emigration into India, the different tribes adhered to their own sacrifices. But, after they occupied the country they gradually became knit together; and at last they formed one settlement. In consequence of this, the officiating priests, the prevailing customs, and the various tribal sacrifices were adjusted; and, as a matter of course, a sacrificial fusion took place. Now it will be observed that the conglomeration of the tribes was brought about solely by the incorporation of their sacrificial customs.† In the earliest part of the Vaidik times, the first duty which the Indo-Aryans owed to their gods, was the performance of their worship with its ceremonies; and that form of worship, no doubt, was simple, patriarchal, and domestic. It was performed three times daily‡ simply with hymns and prayers very often accompanied with the fruits of the earth and the products of the flocks, which were offered on the family altars. This established order of worship with its ceremonies is called *rita* or customary law. Without faith offerings and prayers are fruitless.§ Prayers and oblations were offered to unreal presences by indivi-

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* Haug's Essays, p. 241; Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 463 *seq.*

† *Rig*-veda, i. 161, 1-9-12.

‡ Compare Daniel, vi. 10; and also Psalms, lv. 17.

§ *Rig*-veda, i. 104, 6; ii. 26, 3; x. 151.

duals for individual good. The ceremonial worship was not left to the charge of the priests; it was but a spontaneous act of devotion; and was neither tedious nor complicated in its minor details. But when, in the course of time, the priests formed themselves into a privileged class, worship and ceremonies underwent immense modifications. The rites now began to expand and grow in complexity. And thus this stupendous system of rites required the sacrifice of a large number of various kinds of beasts and birds; and a numerous assemblage of priests to perform them. The rites, offerings, oblations, and sacrifices were all performed with the distinct purpose either to avert an evil, or to secure a coveted object by divine intercession, or to propitiate the gods themselves. They were offered to gain the good-will of some offended deity, or through the dread of others; and the highest importance was attached to these performances.

At the celebration of the Dar*s*apur*n*amása sacrifices the Adhvaryus had to place the cows and calves together; and to touch the calves with a branch of the palásha-tree. This sacrifice was celebrated at new and full moon. Besides this, we have innumerable names of sacrifices; of which the Rájasuya, Agnihotra, A*s*vamedha, Somayága, and Purushamedha are by far the most remarkable. The A*s*vamedha, or horse-sacrifice, was probably adopted by the Indians from the Skythians, before they crossed the Indus.* At this sacrifice 609 animals of various descriptions, domestic and wild, were tied to 21 posts; but after the customary prayers had been offered up, they were three times led round the

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* Herodotus, iv. 71.

sacrificial fire. Elephants, camels, buffaloes, birds, porpoises, crocodiles, snakes, and even mosquitoes and worms were included among the animals. The horse was immolated with an axe, and its flesh was cut up into fragments, dressed, partly roasted, and partly boiled, and made into balls and eaten. This ceremony was subsequently performed symbolically. The sacrifice of the horse,* and that of the cow, no doubt, were common in the earliest periods of the Vaidik ritual. The Bráhma*n*a of the Black Yajush and both the Kalpa and the G*ri*hya-sútra distinctly mention the different occasions when cattle should be slaughtered and eaten. It is no less a fact that the meat of cattle was required for the due celebration of various ceremonies; and more particularly the Rájasuya, the Vájapeya, the A*s*vamedha, the Pancha*s*áradíyasava, and the Súlagava could not have been performed without it. The proper place for the performance of the Súlagava rite was outside a village or a town, unfrequented by men; and the time was after midnight. The barbarous practice of cooking a wild living bull gradually assumed the form of a sacrifice known as Súlagava,† which is mentioned in the Veda as primeval.‡ The sacrifice known as A*s*vayují properly belonged to the pastoral stage of civilisation. The Gomedha was not certainly typical as many are disposed to believe. The Gavámanayana was held for four days. It formed a part of the Maháplava,

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* *Rig*-veda, i. 162-163; *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a, xiii; Kátyáyana's-sútra, xx. 6, 78.

† Ibid, i. 102, 11; and also A'*s*valáyana's G*ri*hya-sútra, iv. 9.

‡ Ibid, i. 164, 43.

Dvádasáha, and few other ceremonies; but it did not constitute a distinct rite by itself. The Sarvamedha, or All sacrifice, and the Brahmayajna (or, the formal reading of the Vedas) are passed over in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a. They find a place in the A'ra*n*yaka of the Taittiríyas, but not in their Bráhma*n*a. The Pit*ri*medha, or Sacrifice to the Manes, has a place in the A'ra*n*yaka as well as in the Bráhma*n*a of the Taittiríyas. The Purushamedha, or Man-sacrifice, required the actual sacrifice of man; and it had for its distinct object the acquisition of independent sovereignty over all created beings. But in reality it was entirely of an expiatory nature. It required full forty days for its celebration; and a hundred and eighty-five men of various tribes, characters, and professions were essentially required to be bound to eleven posts and consecrated to various deities. The holocausts of human victims formed part of the ancient cultus of India; and there is a strong presumptive evidence that *S*una*ss*epa was intended for an actual immolation* It is beyond doubt that the Indo-Aryans were familiar with the notion of human sacrifice.† It also found favor with the Druids, the Skythians, and the Phœnicians; and some traces of it are found even in the Bible. The earliest indication of the rite occurs in the *Ri*g-veda, in the Vájasaneyi-sa*m*hitá, and in the *S*atapatha-bráhma*n*a. The Aitareya

* Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, vii. 13 cf. *Ri*g-veda, i. 24, 12, &c., v. 2, 7. See also Weber's Indische Studien, i. p. 475 *seq.*; iii. p. 111 *seq*; Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p. 408 *seq.*

† Roth, in Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 457-464; and ii. pp. 111-123; Weber's History of Indian Literature, p. 84.

and the Taittiríya-bráhmana also refer to it. The Serpent-sacrifice is sanctioned by the Vaidik ritual. This rite was performed in honour of Sarpa-devatás, of course not in honour of the snakes, but of some spiritual beings of a high order.* The Grihya-sútra of A'svaláyana enjoins sacrifices and offerings to Sarpa-devas or Serpent-gods.

The principal object for which the Sáma veda was composed, was the performance of those sacrifices in which the juice of the Soma plant† (Asclepias acida) was principally required. And of those sacrifices the most remakable is the Jyotishtoma, which consists of seven stages; but the celebration of the first stage or the Agnishtoma alone was deemed obligatory; while the other six stages, such as the Atyagnishtoma, Ukthya, Shodsin, Atirátra, Aptoryáma, and Vájapeya, though adding to the virtue of the sacrificer, were considered as voluntary. If we are to examine the institution of the Jyotishtoma-sacrifice from an historical point of view, we must safely arrive at the conclusion that it refers to Aryan immigration; and also the different parts of the sacrifice unequivocally suggest the final departure of our progenitors from their primeval home in Central Asia. And it is beyond question that when they began to migrate the Agnishtoma-sacrifice was for the first time instituted. The *mantras* chanted in connexion with the sacrifice bear out our statement. The Soma

* *Rig*-veda, iv. 2, 8; viii. 8, 38; Compare Aitareya-bráhmana, v. 23.

† There is a remarkable similarity between the Soma-plant and the ash tree, called the Ygdrasil of Scandanavian mythology.

was from the earliest times connected with the religious history of the Indo-Àryans;* and was thus elevated to the proud position of a god. The *Rig*-veda is very lavish in its praise; and in all the four Vedas many *mantras* are given to be used at every stage of its manufacture. The manufacturing process, however, is long. The high antiquity of the cultus is attested by the references which are made to it in the Zand Avesta.† The references of the Avesta to the Divine Haoma, however, are less explicit than those of the hymns. The coincidences between the Vaidik Agnish*t*oma and the Haoma-ceremony of the Pársís, testify to the complete development of the Soma ritual before the separation of the Indo-Aryans. The plants were gathered by the roots on the hills on a moonlight night, and after being stripped of their leaves they were brought in carts drawn by two rams or he-goats to the house of the sacrificer. The stalks then were deposited in the hall of oblation and bruised and crushed between stones, and placed with the juice in a sieve of goats' hair; and were further pressed and squeezed with the priests' ten fingers, one or two of which being ornamented with rings of flattened gold. Finally, the juice mixed with barley, wheat, and clarified butter was

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* Windischmann's Dissertation on the Soma worship of the Arians; Lassen's Indian Antiquities, i. p. 516; and Roth's articles in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, for 1848 (pp. 216 ff.) and 1850 (pp. 417 ff.)

† Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46, in which the Soma, or as it is in Zand, *haoma*, appears to be referred to under the appellation of ὄμωμι.

allowed to ferment; and was then drawn off in a scoop called *sruch*, and offered up thrice daily to the gods; and a ladleful was taken by the priests. From the Vaidik descriptions of the effects of the Soma nectar on the gods, to whom it was the most acceptable and delightful oblation, we are to believe that it was a fermented intoxicating beverage; and this again we can assume from our knowledge of the effects produced by its use in men. There are in the *Rig*-veda several addresses to Indra, Agni, Mitra, and other gods, in which allusions are made to the exhiliration produced by the use of Soma. The expressed juice of the Soma creeper itself had not either its narcotic property or its keeping quality; but it being diluted with water, mixed with clarified butter, barley-meal, and the meal of *nivára* or wild paddy, and at last being left to ferment in a jar for nine days, it acquired its exhilarating and inebriating effects.* While it was invested with a kind of sacramental and sacred character, it was by no means manufactured for sale. But it was in all cases preserved in a bag of cow-skin.†

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* Stevenson's Sáma-veda, p. iii-vi; Haug's Aitareya-bráhma*n*a, i. p. 6

† *Rig*-veda, v. 5, 19.

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